

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

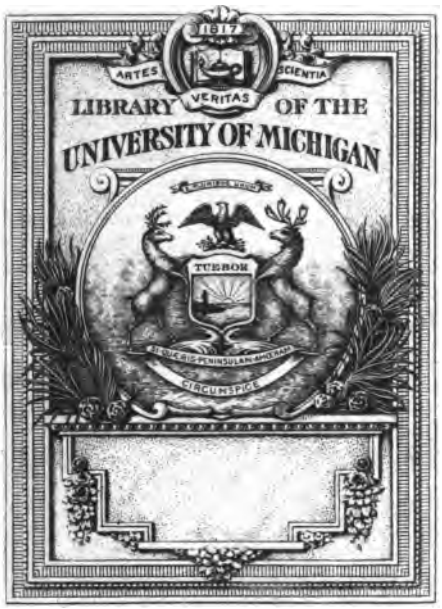
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

BUHR B

a39015 00028822 8b

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

2 vols
in one
£5

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LIVES

OF

CARDINAL ALBERONI,

AND

THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA,

Ministers

OF

PHILIP V. KING OF SPAIN.

BY

GEORGE MOORE, Esq.

VOL. I.

London:

PRINTED FOR R. FAULDER, NEW BOND-STREET,

BY J. BRETTELL,

MARSHALL-STREET, GOLDEN-SQUARE.

1806

Digitized by Google

DP
197
.A6
M82

Digitized by Google

776650-190

PREFACE.

I HERE present the public with the Lives of two extraordinary men;—extraordinary they certainly were, though not useful, nor even great. The first particularly, from the most obscure origin, rose to the command of a monarchy, where uncontrolled power and unlimited magnificence reside upon the throne, and where the opinion that favours noble birth, prevails with the greatest rankness. Such indeed is one of the marks of a despotic government.

Digitized by Google

There is no security for the fruits of fair, honourable industry; no protection for the rights of any part of the community: but no-where does the ferment of bold intrigue and presumptuous ambition extend wider, or work with more violent agitation.

The glare which scorches vegetation, and flings barrenness abroad, exalts mud and ordure into life, expands the reptile into the mounting insect of the day,—gives him wings to fly, invests him with a gaudy coat, till, in his turn, he sinks beneath that glory from which he derived his existence.

That state, on the contrary, where the progress from obscurity is slow and laborious,—where the imagination is not

Digitized by Google

not amused with the vicissitudes of sudden rises and sudden falls,—where the subordination of ranks is most strictly preserved, is like those regions which, enjoying a mild sky and temperate suns, exhibit the refreshing spectacle of greenness and fertility, but can boast neither of the magnificence of storms nor the splendour of meteors.

I shall just notice some of the books from which I collected the history which follows.

I received from Spain, a translation of a Life of Ripperda which appeared in Holland, plentifully interspersed with notes, tending to correct the errors of the original. The translator seems to be a man of good judgement and industrious

Digitized by Google

dustrious research. The name of Mr. le Margne in the title-page is, I am informed, fictitious. His real name was Don Salvador Maner, which is to be found in the privilege prefixed. Why he made use of a fictitious name, when his real one meets the eye a page or two after, I have not been able to discover; but under one or the other, I believe he is equally a stranger to the English reader. For this reason, when I have occasion to refer to him in the course of the work, I mention him generally as the Spanish author.

I am indebted to him for several curious particulars; and I have availed myself of many of his corrections in the original Life of Ripperda.

I have

Digitized by Google

I have however preferred the original, to part of his narrative of Ripperda's African transactions.

His supposition, that Ripperda went to Barbary merely for the purpose of security and retirement, is nowise probable.

Lord Harrington's correspondence attests the smarting resentment with which he was agitated at his fall.

The constant warfare carried on by the states of Barbary against Spain, points out that views of revenge carried him thither. This is perfectly agreeable to the rest of his character.

He could not accomplish any of these

Digitized by Google

these views without renouncing his religion. That he did so, was the prevailing opinion at the time. The edict of the King of Spain, taking away his dignities and titles, speaks of his "crimen tan feo," which may be supposed to refer to something more than merely his residing in Barbary.

We shall not be disposed to think, with the Spanish author, that a man who had twice renounced his religion, would sacrifice ambition, which had been the passion of his life, and the thirst of vengeance, to his religious scruples,—at least, whilst his health was tolerably good, and death seemed at a distance.

There is an evident disposition in the Spanish

Digitized by Google

Spanish author to soften Ripperda's conduct as much as possible to the Spanish nation, with much too favourable an opinion of the general complexion of his character.

Though, however, I have preferred the original Life in these two circumstances,—the views which carried him to Barbary and the religion he professed there; I have followed the translator in other particulars.

Lord Harrington's correspondence, which forms a part of the very curious and valuable correspondence published by Mr. Coxe, and l'Abbé Montgon's Mémoires, furnish as good materials as could be desired, for the history of Ripperda's ministry.

Digitized by Google

Gibbon, in the journal of his readings, gives a character of Montgon's Mémoires. They are, as he says, prolix and tedious enough in all conscience: but he happened to be at Madrid during the time of Ripperda's power, on a secret political mission in the service of the Duke of Bourbon, and had good opportunities of knowing the whole truth. This mission was not very pleasing to Cardinal Fleury, who disappointed all his ambitious speculations, and reduced him to the necessity of abandoning France. The pains he takes to disguise his ambitious speculations, are curious. The motive he assigns for undertaking his Spanish journey, to edify himself by contemplating King Philip in his retirement of St. Ildephonso, coupled with the circumstance,

Digitized by Google

circumstance, that in reality he did not set out till after he knew Philip had re-ascended the throne, exposes him to the derision of the reader.

The Spanish author has supplied me, too, with some circumstances relating to the early part of Alberoni's residence in Spain. The Mémoires of the Duke de St. Simon and of Duclos frequently speak of him. The latter appear to me written with more of solid sense and sober judgement, than are commonly met with in French authors.

The Mémoires of the Marquis de St. Philippe, contain the bulky facts in Alberoni's public transactions, heavily delivered and with little critical discernment,

Digitized by Google

cernment, but with much appearance of patient and accurate investigation.

In relating the plot or conspiracy of Cellamare, the Mémoires of Mademoiselle Launay, afterwards Madame de Staal, assisted me. They are lively and entertaining. She was in the service of the Duchess de Maine, and entrusted with her secrets. A certain chevalier Menil, who was confined with her in the Bastille, and amused himself during the confinement in writing sentimental letters to her, for whom she conceived a violent passion, to which he made no return after he got his liberty, and of whom she speaks incessantly, appears indeed to have been an insipid kind of a personage.

The

Digitized by Google

The good woman was certainly unreasonable to expect any one should fall in love with her, according to the description she gives of herself;—*maigre, sèche, et désagréable.* Yet her head was full of the passions she kindled, and the gallantries she inspired.

For the particulars I have assembled relative to the states of Barbary, I am obliged to a variety of publications. Mr. Lemprière's late travels to Morocco are judicious and well written. Commodore Stewart and Captain Braithwaite visited this empire not long before the period of my history. I have consulted the narratives of their journeys both for men and manners. The latter may be supposed to have undergone

Digitized by Google

gone some change, from lapse of time. We are well informed of the state of Morocco; but our accounts of Algiers are meagre indeed. What I have said concerning it, I gleaned with much pains from a number of books. But Mr. Falcon, lately British consul there, was so good as to revise my statement, and add to my information. Tempted by the novelty and curiosity of the subject, I had entered into a good deal of detail:—but, an intimate and most enlightened Friend, whose absence at this time, in a distant part of the globe, I have to lament, suggesting to me the slender connection it had with my subject; I pressed the matter I had collected, into the general view now published.

I take

Digitized by Google

I take no notice of a book intitled "Testament politique du Cardinal Alberoni." It is very common, but no doubt a fabrication, and a poor one.* I should have wished to have seen a Life published at Placentia soon after his death; but I could not meet with it.

I may be blamed for referring, in a history of past times, to recent events, and the present circumstances of my country. But what is a history of past times, except in the light of these

* It is the work of a hungry French writer of the name of Maubert, who was afterwards employed in writing the *Brussels Gazette*, which gave such offence to all true-born Englishmen, and is mentioned in several of our patriotic songs.

gigantic

Digitized by Google

gigantic and tremendous events? a mere fairy tale! They have changed the whole aspect of human affairs. They press hourly on our feelings, on our dearest interests! My pen was conducted to them by an involuntary impulse.—If this shall not be deemed an excuse, let it be regarded only as the exposition of a fact.

Digitized by Google

THE

LIFE

OF

CARDINAL ALBERONI.

JULIUS ALBERONI was born in an obscure dwelling, at one of the extremities of the city of Placentia, March 30, 1664.

His parents were in the meanest circumstances; his father earned his livelihood as a gardiner.

The opinion of a ruling passion, which, according to our elegant moral poet, discovers itself in the first unfoldings of the mind, and gathers strength through all the changes of life, never received so forcible an illustration as in the instance before us.

Digitized by Google

From his earliest childhood, Alberoni had one object perpetually in view. In the pursuit of this, no difficulties discouraged him, no affronts or indignities repulsed him; nothing so mean to which he would not stoop; no experiment so unpromising, which he was not prepared to try.

He first engaged the notice of a parish-priest, as a forward officious boy.—This priest took him into his service, taught him to read and write, and the rudiments of the Latin tongue.

He next received instruction from some Barnabite Friars, who were pleased with an air of quickness and docility about him.

His attention to ingratiate himself with his protectors had so good an effect, that he was appointed ringer of bells to the cathedral.

Here he came under the observation of the Canons, who, seeing him busy every where, and studious to recommend himself to every one, testified to him some degree of good-will. The wily youth was not

Digitized by Google

not without distinguishing eyes. He discovered those who possessed the ear of the Bishop, and took care to be most assiduous about them.

He determined to become an ecclesiastic, and by the influence of the persons who befriended him, was admitted to the minor orders. He received the tonsure, that is, had the form of a crown shaved upon his head; which denotes a person set apart for ecclesiastical functions.

His next step was to receive the order of priesthood:—but here he found some difficulty.

Where a life of idleness invites so many to become Priests, Bishops are not willing to ordain those who are likely to become a burthen to the church. This likelihood strongly attached to Alberoni. However, he found means to overcome the objection; and a priest he was ordained.

Being now an ecclesiastic in due form, he went to seek his fortune. He quitted the place of his nativity, and repaired to Ravenna.

Digitized by Google

Ravenna, once a flourishing city, was at this time in deplorable circumstances of decline. Subject to the Popes, it showed the influence of its ecclesiastical government in the gloom and melancholy which overspread it. A great part of its population consisted of Monks and Friars. A sauntering laziness was the general characteristic of its inhabitants. The cheerful sounds of industry or pleasure were never heard within its walls.

The vice-legate Monsignor Barni, was in consequence much oppressed with languor and listlessness. He was looking about for relief when Alberoni arrived. No one excelled him in vivacity and buffoonery, and seemed intended by nature, for what Monsignor Barni wanted.

He became a constant guest at his table, and was thought the most droll and diverting of men.

To recompense him, Monsignor Barni appointed him a sort of steward or superintendant in his household.

Barni was soon after made Bishop of Placentia,

Digitized by Google

centia, and was accompanied by Alberoni; who found in the gossip of his native city, new means of entertaining his patron.

Barni discovering, I suppose, his household affairs not very well managed, relieved himself, by giving his steward the first vacant stall in his cathedral. Having occasion soon after for a preceptor for his nephew l'Abbé Barni, he thought of no one but his steward metamorphosed into a Canon.

Alberoni set out with his pupil for Rome.—If the young gentleman did not make much proficiency in classical or ecclesiastical knowledge, he was better amused. He found in his preceptor a ready and dexterous go-between with those kind beauties, who at Rome, as well as in other places, are not inexorable to the addresses of the young and rich*.

Alberoni might now consider his circum-

* I originally collected these particulars of the early life of Alberoni from an anonymous history, which I suppose is of little authority; but I have found them since, for the most part, confirmed by the Spanish author, whom I mention in my preface.

stances

Digitized by Google

stances as sufficiently flourishing. But fortune had not yet disclosed the miracles she had in store for him.

The beginning of the eighteenth century saw the dawn of his greatness. A war had broken out, which involved the greatest part of Europe. The contending potentates made the first trial of their strength on the banks of the Po;—the Duke de Vendome commanded the army of France.

The singularities of this man were the means appointed to raise Alberoni.

Vendome affected in his manners and deportment, a cynical contempt for the forms and decencies of life. His person exhibited a disgusting filthiness. His equals he treated with brutality. He submitted to little restraint even with his superiors. His birth, his rank, his reputation for a daring and enterprising captain, seemed to authorize this extraordinary conduct, and were allowed to excuse it.

On his arrival in Italy, he had to treat with the petty princes, whose territories were exposed to the inroads of the hostile armies.

Digitized by Google

armies. All would have wished to have been respected as neutral; but in the collision of the powerful, the feeble who are in the neighbourhood of the shock, must expect to suffer.

One of the principal sufferers at this time, was Francis Duke of Parma. After having seen his states plundered without mercy by the Imperialists, and having in vain invoked the thunders of the Vatican, professing himself a vassal of the Popes *; he had reason to apprehend treatment not more sparing from the progress of the French armies. He resolved therefore to send a deputation to Vendome, the commander-in-chief.

The person chosen for this deputation, was a Count Roncovieri, Bishop of St. Donnino, a small town between Parma and Placentia. Alberoni who filled nearly the same situation about his person, that he had done about that of Monsignor Barni—the situation of a diverting companion, was his attendant on the occasion.

* See hereafter.

When

Digitized by Google

When these reverend deputies were announced to Vendome, he happened to be performing a ceremony, the gravity of history finds it difficult to express*. He was not a man to be disturbed by the entrance of such deputies. Without therefore changing his position, he ordered them to be admitted.

Roncovieri, a nobleman and a bishop, affronted at this strange reception, precipitately withdrew; but Alberoni remained, witnessed the whole process with much good-humour, and finally broke out into a sally of buffoon adulation exactly calculated to please the Duke.

The Duke was indeed so pleased, that he would not allow him to return to the court of Parma, but kept him with him to season his nocturnal revels, with that gross pleasantry in which he delighted.

Alberoni saw the moment of his for-

* He was actually on his close-stool. At the conclusion he exhibited himself in a way, which produced the burlesque exclamation of Alberoni, ah culo di Angelo!

tune

Digitized by Google

tune arrived; and determined to improve it*.

The Duke had a voracious appetite for flattery. This he plentifully supplied. With the topics of adulation, he occasionally intermixed obscene jests and stories; was busy in the kitchen, and possessed the art of dressing ragouts of cheese to the Duke's taste.

He was soon admitted to familiarity, crept into his patron's confidence, and was allowed to inspect his letters.

This inflaming his natural presumption, his impertinence would sometimes draw on him severe chastisement. On one occasion, he received a regular caning in presence of the whole army: but his vivacity was proof against such checks. He was laughed at, laughed himself.

When Vendome quitted Italy, he took Alberoni along with him. He continued

† Another account is, that his introduction to Vendome was by means of a poet of the name of Capriston, with whom he had accidentally formed an acquaintance. I have followed the narrative of the Duke de St. Simon and Duclos.

an

Digitized by Google

an humble attendant about his person, sometimes in Flanders, sometimes in the Duke's retirement of Anet; and in this capacity, followed him to Spain in 1710, where Vendome was sent to take the command of the French and Spanish army. The monarchy was obstinately disputed between Philip, of the family of Bourbon, supported by his grandfather, Lewis XIV. and the Archduke Charles, brother to the Emperor Joseph.

Philip, who was finally declared king of Spain, was a prince of slender capacity, indolent, and uxorious. His wife, who was in reality the sovereign, was Maria-Louisa, of Savoy, daughter of Duke Victor Amodeus; and she used with moderation, the power she derived from the character and passions of her husband. Her disposition was undescribably sweet, and pictured in her lovely countenance. Her eyes were touched with a sprightly softness, which bespoke a mind at once gentle and animated. Her person was small, but finely proportioned. She was adored by the people, and deserved their attachment,

not

Digitized by Google

not only by the affable graces which adorned her, but by the higher virtues of courage and magnanimity. These she had often occasion to exert.

Reverses had nearly wearied out the constancy of Philip. In despair, he was on the point of giving up his crown. The voice of his consort made him ashamed of his weakness, and called up in his breast more generous resolutions.

Lewis XIV. sinking in the same manner under the misfortunes of war, would have withdrawn his support from his grandson, but this temporary wavering was soon overcome, by the pathetic entreaties and mild expostulations of Maria-Louisa.

When the royal coffers were exhausted, and the financiers of Philip perplexed, she procured money by her soothing address and captivating manners.

In one of these pressing exigencies, she went in person to the town-hall of Madrid, and harangued the magistrates with the dignity of a queen, and the persuasive sweetness of a woman. They immediately contributed six thousand pistoles.

By

Digitized by Google

By the forms of the Spanish court, the Cameristas, or young ladies who attend the queen, are under the care and superintendance of a chief, who is called Camerara Major.

This is a situation of considerable importance, from the opportunities of personal influence which it gives.

On the marriage of Philip, Cardinal Portocarrero had procured it for a lady to whom he had been attached by very tender ties. This was the Princess D'Ursini.

She was a French woman by birth;—her name La Tremouille. When very young, she had been married to Talleyrand, Prince de Chalais. After his death, she travelled into Italy. Here she became acquainted with Cardinal Portocarrero. A rich Italian nobleman, the Duke de Bracciano, of the family D'Ursini, was persuaded to fall in love with her, and marry her.

She now established her residence at Rome. Her house was the resort of all that was elegant and distinguished in that city. Every one was in good-humour, except

Digitized by Google

cept her husband. But this created little uneasiness in the sprightly Duchess. She amused herself with occasional excursions to Paris. In one of these, she formed a connection with Madame de Maintenon, and was admitted into her little knot of saints.

She soon distinguished herself by the vigour of her orthodoxy.

The mother of the Gallican church had been unfortunately seduced by the soft, mystical eloquence of Fenelon, in the famous controversy concerning the love of God. The tender-hearted Archbishop had recommended this love in language so much resembling that of human passion, that the ladies were zealous partizans of his opinions. Not so D'Ursini; she was rigid and inflexible. Returning from one of her visits to the French capital, she found her husband dead. After this, whether from the embarrassment of her circumstances*, or from that unaccountable am-

* In one of her letters, quoted in the Memoires de Noailles, she says, "Je suis gueuse; il est vrai:" yet it is mentioned in the Memoires de St. Simon, that she had been recently left a considerable fortune.

bition

hition often observed among the higher ranks of mankind, of courting slavery when disguised by the names and splendid trappings of greatness, she quitted the life of independence she had hitherto led, and solicited the appointment that has been mentioned, of Camerara Major to the Queen of Spain.

This is the picture she gives of her situation:—"Good God! what a lot has been cast upon me; I have not a moment's repose! The time is past, when I could take a little rest after my dinner, and eat when I was hungry. I esteem myself but too lucky when I can make a hurried meal. It often happens I am called away just as I am tasting the first bit. I have the honour of giving the king his night-gown when he goes to bed, and his slippers when he gets up. I am likewise loaded with his majesty's sword when he goes to undress himself. I am even sometimes the bearer of his chamber pot . . . . . He is so well pleased with my services, that he has frequently the goodness to call me up a full couple of hours before I would

Digitized by Google

would wish to leave my bed. The queen finds all this extremely diverting, and condescends to smile at the ridiculous scenes I exhibit: yet she has not the same confidence in me she had in the chambermaids of her own country. I am not half so much in her good graces. Why? for the life of me, I cannot conceive. I am sure they were not so handy in taking off her shoes and stockings, and washing her feet*."

Before age had subdued the attractions of her person, D'Ursini was cast in a mould of voluptuousness and desire. She was above the middle size, of a brown complexion; her bosom exuberantly full, her blue eyes large, and full of fire.

The character of her mind was violent and imperious; hurrying forward to its objects without much regard to difficulties or obstacles, or a very scrupulous attention to the choice of means;—all this concealed under the appearance of gentleness and sweetness.

* Mem. de Noailles, vol. ii. pp. 171—173.

In

Digitized by Google

In the various events of a doubtful war, the royal couple whom she directed, had more than once occasion to borrow constancy and resolution from her. Her spirit, not easily broken or dismaid, imparted vigour to theirs.

Few women were better qualified to shine in the private circles of life;—her diversified experience had given her great insight into the characters of men; she possessed in a supreme degree, what has been called the knowledge of the world, that nice perception, that exquisite feeling, which in the mixed assemblage of society, discerns at once what is proper for every one, and assigns to every one what his sensibility demands.

The most courtly polish was diffused over her manners. Her conversation was of inexhaustible variety and fertility.

Chastity, it must be owned, was not her distinguishing virtue. A man of the name of D'Aubigni, triumphed over the politician, and found her the fond woman, willing to purchase pleasure by any sacrifice. A dissembler in every thing else, here she

was

Digitized by Google

was open and even impudent. This was evinced on a remarkable occasion.

The French ambassador, in a dispatch directed to Lewis XIV, giving him a picture of the Spanish court, had occasion, of course, to speak of D'Ursini:—"There is a stout young fellow," said he, "of the name of D'Aubigni, one of her household, who certainly goes to bed to her. But I make no doubt they are privately married." "Pour mariée! non;" was her marginal annotation, when she intercepted the dispatch, which she allowed with this commentary, to go forward to its destination.

But if in this instance, her passions overcame her discretion, in another she consulted entirely the public good. She had the merit of recommending Orri to the place of minister of finance, and supporting him in the reforms he judged it necessary to introduce. By his solid and laborious science, the revenue was considerably increased, and relieved from a heavy burthen of debt.

A view of the court of Philip would be indeed imperfect, which excluded his confessor.

Digitized by Google

fessor. Père D'Aubenton had followed him from France in this capacity.

Though the King was sufficiently disposed to pay implicit obedience to his confessor, yet so galling was the yoke D'Aubenton maintained over him, that he more than once testified his impatience. D'Aubenton was an instrument employed by those, who wished to supplant the ascendant of the Queen and D'Ursini. The latter was aware of this, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to effect the dismissal of the confessor.

Such was the court of Spain, at the arrival of Alberoni. He immediately laid down for himself the plan of conduct he was to pursue; to examine every part of the scene with attention, discover the leading weaknesses of the principal actors, and manage them to his own advantage.

Many of the provinces were in rebellion, more or less decided. He was thought a proper person to be sent to the best disposed among them, to intrigue with the disaffected, bribe some, and intimidate others. He discharged this commission with

with dexterity, and had no small success as a spy and clandestine agent.

Vendome and D'Ursini were soon at variance. She was ambitious of an unlimited influence, and he was little disposed to submit to her controul in any thing.

When he went, therefore, to take the command of the army, he left Alberoni to watch any intrigues which might be set on foot against him in his absence, trusting entirely to his zeal in counteracting them.

But zealous gratitude was no part of Alberoni's character. He remained at Madrid, observing the cautious management of one, who never on any occasion thinks of thwarting or offending power, whose eye is perpetually intent on all the tremblings of the balance, and who is at all times ready to throw himself into the scale that shall appear to preponderate.

This ambiguous conduct, however, escaped the notice of his benefactor; for, a little before his death, he procured him a pension of four thousand ducats on the Archbishopric of Valencia.

Digitized by Google

His death happened in 1712.

Alberoni was now without the advantages a powerful protection might be supposed to afford him; but felt himself withal, more at liberty. He might pursue his ambitious speculations without fetter or restraint.

The Queen Maria-Louisa died two years after: and his aptitude for speculations of this kind, had an opportunity of showing itself.

The propensity which impelled the King to a second marriage, was of a nature not to be resisted. It became necessary to provide him with a wife as soon as possible: but who this wife should be, was a matter of infinite moment to all whose hopes and fears were directed towards the court;—to none so much as to D'Ursini.

Her mind delivered itself over to the most anxious meditation. In the critical situation in which she stood, her fall, she foresaw, would be the consequence of a false step; hence the doubts and waverings which distracted her.

A glance of hope shot across her at one time

Digitized by Google

time to ascend herself the royal bed. She was past the age of inspiring love:—but a less fastidious passion, she knew, animated Philip.

She contrived to have her bed-room near his; she was perpetually going into the latter, under pretence of discharging her duty as governess to his children; she employed every art to inflame him during the painful celibacy he endured: but pride, which mixed strongly with the workings of his gloomy mind, rendered all these arts ineffectual. Being told that it was thought he would marry the Princess, he expressed himself in a way which appeared to her a signal to abandon her hopes.

Disappointed in this scheme, she began to reflect more seriously on the several Princesses who might be chosen. She dreaded a Princess from Portugal;—the neighbourhood of the kingdoms would establish a perpetual intercourse between the two courts, which might be dangerous to her. A French Princess she equally feared;—French vivacity would not easily be subdued to the yoke she prepared for

Digitized by Google

for the future queen. She at length bethought herself of the court of Parma.

Francis, the reigning Duke, had no children: but his deceased brother Oduard, whom he had succeeded, had left a daughter, to whom Francis had become still more closely allied, by marrying her mother.

D'Ursini had heard that this daughter (whose name was Elizabeth) had been hardly brought up, kept in perpetual subjection, and educated, as it should seem, for a life of dependence. Nothing could meet more exactly her views; and then she promised herself gratitude and submission without bounds, should Elizabeth have to thank her for her elevation from the obscurity and poverty of a petty court in Italy, to the rank and splendour of Queen of Spain.

But before she finally decided, her evil genius led her to consult Alberoni, who was very much in her intimacy and confidence, since, in order to secure her favour, he had sacrificed the exclusive attachment he owed the Duke de Vendome.

She

Digitized by Google

She might have reflected that a person capable of such flagrant ingratitude, was not to be relied upon against any views of interest which he might be led to entertain. But the artful Italian had contrived to persuade her, that her singular talents for gaining the hearts of men had alone prevailed over the inclination he felt for his benefactor; and a piece of flattery so sweet to the vanity of woman, had bereft her of her usual sagacity and discernment.

Alberoni shewed himself on this occasion accomplished in perfidy. He was well acquainted with the court of Parma, and knew the Princess Elizabeth was the very reverse of what D'Ursini supposed her.

Instead of the simple docile character her deceived imagination bestowed upon her, she possessed a disposition in the highest degree bold, aspiring, impatient of control.

But Alberoni had formed a plan of ambition on the illusion he saw she had fallen into, and therefore said every thing to confirm her in it.

As

Digitized by Google

As Philip's impatience for a wife admitted of no delay; as soon as the choice of the Princess of Parma was determined upon, the marriage was solemnized, and the new queen set out to join her desiring husband.

It is said that D'Ursini, discovering her error, dispatched a messenger who might have prevented the espousal. He arrived at Parma just the day before that appointed for the celebration of the marriage. Have you a mind to live? was the question put to him on his arrival. If so, conceal yourself till after to-morrow.

The celebration took place; the messenger appeared; the queen pursued her journey to Spain through France. At Bayonne she saw her aunt, widow of Charles II. last Austrian King of Spain, who lived there in great retirement on a small pension allowed her by the court of Madrid. Whether it was in this interview the Queen was led to adopt the extraordinary resolution she afterwards displayed, or was only confirmed in what was already in her thoughts, is very uncertain.

Digitized by Google

tain*. D'Ursini had got her appointment of Camerara Major renewed, and was impatient to receive the transports of gratitude she thought awaited her.

Philip advanced as far as Guadalaxara, twelve leagues from Madrid, to meet his expected wife. He was accompanied by the Camerara Major. He arrived at Gua-

* Accounts vary very much upon this subject. According to some, the Queen's resolution was suggested by the court of Versailles. Others, again, state, that she formed it upon hearing of the counter-orders given by the favourite, with relation to her marriage. Her aunt was the author of it, according to some. The plan was laid by Alberoni, according to others. It is no less uncertain, whether Philip had any previous knowledge of the transaction. I have supposed in the text, that he had, agreeably to the information of the Spanish author. I have superadded a circumstance out of Duclos. The Marquis de St. Philippe, who had the best means of knowing the truth, says, like a grave Spaniard, that "what it pleases the majesty of the throne to keep a mystery, he is far from the presumption of seeking to discover." After all, it is very possible that Philip, seeing the thing done, yielded to the empire his wife, whoever she was, was destined to exercise over him, and confirmed by his acquiescence, what he had not previously authorized.

dalaxara

Digitized by Google

dalaxara the day before the eve of Christmas.

D'Ursini, whose bosom throbbed with the most eager and joyful expectations, would not stop here, but went seven leagues further to Xadraque, a village where the Queen was expected to pass the night. She had put on a full dress of ceremony, and promised herself a delightful evening. It was dark; and the Queen was not arrived. The weather was intensely cold. She ordered a good fire to be made in the best room in the inn, and sat down to supper. Scarcely had she sat down, when the arrival of the Queen was announced. She went down stairs to meet her, and followed her to the apartment prepared for her. The Queen treated her with marked coolness and indifference. D'Ursini, accustomed to a tone of authority with the late consort of Philip, was not a little surprized; but ascribing her behaviour to her ignorance of the rank she occupied in the monarchy, resolved to let her know who she was; and accordingly began to animadvert on her slow manner of travelling;

and

Digitized by Google

and the late hour at which she had arrived. The Queen angrily replied, that such language did not become a subject. D'Ursini, no wise dismayed, continued her censures, applying them next to the Queen's dress. The Queen ordered her to quit the room; on her offering to remonstrate, she called aloud for the officer in waiting, and ordered him to get ready a coach and six, and not quit D'Ursini, till she had reached the French frontier. D'Ursini would have disobeyed, declaring that nothing but an order from the King himself would oblige her. The officer then shewed her the King's order, which had been secretly given to him, to execute whatever the Queen commanded, without exception or reserve*.

Philip

* I have collected from the Spanish author, the particulars of this curious scene. In St. Simon and Duclos, the Queen behaves like a mad woman, breaks out into a fury without any apparent cause, and without the least transition or connection in the dialogue, orders the officer to carry off D'Ursini. Duclos says, indeed, that Alberoni, when he quitted Spain, communicated

Digitized by Google

Philip knew of her design, and in his heart rejoiced at it. He had long wished to shake off the dominion of D'Ursini, but had not resolution to do it himself. He therefore concerted the matter with the Queen, and wrote her a letter:—"Be sure you do not miss your blow;—give her but an hour, and you are her slave!"

It was the middle of winter; the ground covered with frost and snow;—no provisions to be found in the inns of Spain;—no beds:—yet D'Ursini maintained the strength and constancy of her character. She was not observed to shed a tear;—not a complaint escaped her. She arrived at length at St. John de Luz, a little town in France, built on the sea-shore; and here she was set at liberty. She hastened to write to her old friend Madame de Maintenon:—"I am here in a small house;—

municated the circumstances he relates, to a person from whom he had them, with the intervention only of a third. Alberoni would, no doubt, be high authority; but there is no congruity in the transaction as Duclos describes it, scarcely is it reconcileable with common sense.

the

Digitized by Google

the ocean before me, sometimes calm, sometimes agitated:—it is an image of what passes in courts:—you know what has happened to me; I shall not implore in vain your generous compassion!"

But she had little to expect from the compassion she relied upon. It was thought at Versailles, that she had been wanting, during her prosperity, in deference and submission. She was condemned as having determined on Philip's marriage, without the sanction she should have solicited from France. The sprightly marginal note to the correspondence of the ambassador was not forgotten. Her preposterous ambition to obtain a sovereignty in the Low Countries*, which had retarded the general peace at Utrecht, had given great offence.

From

* She prevailed upon Philip to make the cession of this sovereignty to her, a condition in the treaty. The Plenipotentiaries of Holland would not agree to it; and the whole negociation was at a stand. Nothing but the repeated menaces of Lewis XIV. would obtain the signature of his grandson. The most ridiculous

Digitized by Google

From these causes, she met with a very cold reception at the French court*. The death of the King was an event to be expected; and the authority would then devolve upon the Duke of Orleans, who regarded her as his personal enemy. She therefore made no long stay in Paris. She was at a loss where to fix herself; several states refused her admittance. At length, she obtained permission from the Pope to reside in Rome. She here attached herself to the court of the Pretender, and acted as a sort of mistress of ceremonies, like a veteran courtier clinging to the last, to the pageantry of greatness. She died at a very advanced age, in the midst of her frivolous occupations, in 1722.

The day after the banishment of D'Ursini,

culous part of the transaction was, that D'Ursini affected to have a sort of ambassador in her own name at the Congress, a Baron de Bournonville, who got universally laughed at, and was amply recompensed in Spain.

* It was believed that the design of the Queen had originated from thence, as I have mentioned in a preceding note.

Digitized by Google

sini, the Queen was received by her husband at Guadalaxara. The marriage ceremony was repeated. The marriage consummated, and D'Ursini and her adventures entirely forgotten.

Since the death of Vendome, Alberoni had sought the acquaintance of his countrymen at Madrid, and connected himself with those who might promote his interest. He contrived to get a footing in the house of the Marquis de Casali, the Parmesan Minister. The Marquis having occasion soon after to return to his country, left the affairs of the Duke his master, in his hands.

He was now therefore regarded as envoy of Parma; and in this capacity, thought himself authorized to go as far as Pampelura, to meet the new Queen*. He presumed,

* Many of the writers who have treated this portion of history, represent him as going to Parma to negotiate the marriage, and as having been present at the espousals. Mr. D'Anquetil follows this narrative, and attributes to him the question put to the messenger who arrived with the orders of D'Ursini, and the

Digitized by Google

sumed, no doubt, upon her favour, as a principal instrument in procuring her elevation. Her first compliments however were not very encouraging:—"I have heard, (said she) you are an egregious rascal." He bowed, flattered, and quickly soothed and conciliated her.

It was in the last days of the year 1714, that Philip and his Queen made their public entry into Madrid.

A transaction of a curious nature had been some time in agitation, which assumed now a new aspect. Some share in this may be attributed to Alberoni, whose influence had already insinuated itself into the public councils.

The privilege of Sanctuary, or the protection afforded by certain places of wor-

the summary and decisive conduct by which these orders were rendered unavailing. I have preferred the narrative of St. Philippe, who I think must have been best informed.

These are minute variations of little importance; but I take notice of them, to show the uncertainty which attends, at least, the subordinate parts of history.

ship,

Digitized by Google

ship, had its origin in barbarous times.—When men were but feebly restrained by laws and government, Religion interposed with salutary terrors for the defence of the weak, and the coercion of the strong. The barbarian, who heard with disdain the commands of the magistrate, felt his ferocity restrained, when he approached places consecrated by the tradition of generations, as the peculiar residence of the Divinity.

It cannot be reasonably doubted, that in these early periods of society, such impressions operated in a salutary manner. They supplied the place of regular institutions, and accomplished among our rude ancestors, what laws and government are intended to effect among us. But in succeeding times, when the magistrate became armed with adequate powers of punishment and protection, the privilege of Sanctuary, instead of affording refuge to persecuted innocence, served only to hold out the prospect of impunity to guilt. It had accordingly been gradually contracted, and finally abolished in most of the countries of Europe.

Digitized by Google

But Spain had not kept pace with her neighbours in the general progress of civilization. What times past had left of most barbarous and absurd, she, in many instances, preserved with religious tenderness. This was the case of the privilege in question. The effect was, that multiplied crimes were committed; justice disarmed of its terrors. Such is the complaint of all travellers who visited Spain at the end of the seventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth centuries: yet no remedy was applied; the evil was, on the contrary, increasing. Not only churches were a place of refuge to malefactors; they were supposed to sanctify the adjoining places; and there were even shops where a criminal might remain in safety.

As much as this abuse affected the administration of justice, and the security of individuals, there was another equally injurious to the King's revenue.

There are a variety of taxes in Spain which are not levied upon ecclesiastical property. Besides, therefore, the motives which had suggested the political regula-

Digitized by Google

tions of other countries, Spain had an additional inducement to restrain the growth of this species of property. Yet she had not done so. This property received continually fresh accessions, by which the produce of the taxes was proportionably diminished.

In these circumstances, Don Melchior Macanaz*, Fiscal of the council of Castille, framed a memorial which he presented to the council, animadverting on both the above-mentioned abuses. It was zealously patronised by Orri, who was labouring to introduce order into the finances. His patronage engaged that of D'Ursini. The

* This Macanaz, has been celebrated by a number of French writers as a champion of Philosophy:—but it should seem, Philosophy had little share in prompting his conduct on this occasion. He is the author of a book, entitled, "Defensa critica de la Inquisicion," which has been reprinted of late years, as an answer to the impugners of this venerable tribunal. It is true, when Macanaz wrote this treatise, he was many years older. It appeared for the first time in 1736. How far age, and the approach of death may have checked and damped his juvenile spirit of reform, I will not determine.

king, whose religious scruples were easily alarmed, would not listen to any proposal upon the subject, till he had consulted his confessor. Père D'Aubenton would probably have declared himself an enemy to every thing that looked like reform: but this fanatical Jesuit had been discarded by the influence of D'Ursini. He was now at Rome, involved in the gloom of theology, settling all the propositions that were to be condemned in the bull Unigenitus. Père Robinet, who had succeeded him, was a man of a different character, moderate and approaching to liberality in his way of thinking. He read the memorial of Macanaz, and saw nothing censurable in it. But this did not satisfy the zealots. They insisted it was flagrantly heretical. The blind zeal of the populace was excited, and Macanaz was in danger of being torn in pieces. A copy got into the hands of some of the Inquisition, and a decree appeared, branding the memorial with all the epithets invented by theological bitterness.

The decree was forwarded to Paris, for the

Digitized by Google

the signature of the inquisitor-general Cardinal Giudice, who happened to be there at the time. Some analogy had been discovered between the opinions advanced by Maccanaz, and the principles of two French writers, who were by name introduced into the decree, and involved in the condemnation which it pronounced.

Giudice, without asking the King of France's permission, had this decree, manufactured by the Spanish Inquisition, and confirmed by himself, posted up in all parts of Paris, and even at the palace of Marly.

Lewis was vehemently orthodox: but a principal article in his creed, was respect for his authority.

A proceeding, which seemed to set his authority at defiance, in which a Spanish inquisitor-general, in the capital of his dominions, and almost in his very court, fulminated censures against two of his subjects, without troubling himself about his approbation or consent, was what a monarch of his lofty notions, so jealous of his prerogative, could ill brook. He wrote

to

to his grandson on the conduct of Giudice, in terms of the highest displeasure.

The Cardinal was in complete disgrace, while D'Ursini had any power or influence; but her fall drew after it the disgrace of all she had patronized, and the triumph of those she had opposed. Giudice soon after was called to the rank of prime minister. Macanaz took refuge in France. Orri was ordered to quit Madrid in twenty-four hours. Père Robinet, seeing the course things were taking, withdrew, carrying away with him the regret of moderate men. D'Aubenton was recalled;—Philip again obliged to endure this turbulent confessor.

Alberoni, whose power was yet in its infancy, and consisted in little more than the whispers of intrigue, and the arts of secret influence, did not take a very conspicuous part in this proceeding. But notwithstanding his known indifference about religion, with an appearance of orthodox zeal, and a whining tone of piety, approved of every thing that was done; at once paying servile obedience to the Queen,

and

Digitized by Google

and promoting an object he had in view, of taking root in the good graces of the court of Rome.

The greater part of the household who had accompanied the Queen from Parma, left her at the frontier. The Princess of Piombino, to whom she was much attached, proceeded with her as far as Madrid; but observing the vicissitudes to which favourites are subject, she had the good sense to prefer happiness at home, to the precarious splendour which invited her.

The Queen, deprived of those in whom she had been accustomed to place confidence, gradually and insensibly delivered herself over to the counsels of Alberoni. As her countryman, as in a great degree the author of her fortune, as representing the Prince her uncle, he had many avenues to her favour. But no sooner did she become a mother, than a new passion sprang up in her breast, which raged with such violence, as to require no great sagacity to discern or skill to manage it, and which rendered her a mere instrument in the hands

hands of those who knew how to take advantage of it. To procure establishments for her children, became to her an object of ambition, in the pursuit of which she sacrificed every thing, even common sense. Italy, was the country she principally looked to for the establishments she so eagerly coveted. She was heiress to the Duchies of Parma and Placentia, on the extinction of the male line, which seemed likely to happen, as neither the reigning Duke, nor his brother Anthony had any children, or the prospect of any.

But the Emperor had claims founded on a circumstance, in the history of those principalities, which should he be able to maintain, might possibly intercept the succession from her and her posterity.

They had been for centuries without any settled master, exposed to the inroads of contending potentates. But even in these times of anarchy and confusion, the Emperors affected to consider them as depending upon them in quality of fiefs of the empire. When Julius II. united them to the Papal See, at the time of the great

Digitized by Google

great alliance formed against France by that bold and enterprizing pontiff, the Emperor Maximilian had been prevailed upon to give his consent; but in the act of consent was inserted a clause, "saving the rights of the empire." They were afterwards alienated by Paul III. in favour of his son Peter Lewis, from whom the Dukes of Parma descended; but it was contended on the part of the Emperor, that they had always been and still continued, notwithstanding these changes in the immediate government, fiefs of the empire, liable to revert to him on the failure of male posterity in their princes. The Queen of Spain had likewise a prospect of the succession of Tuscany. Gaston, the only son of the reigning Grand Duke, was in circumstances not to hope for issue, and she, as descended from Como II, had claims to the inheritance.

It might well however be apprehended, that the Emperor, whose dominions in Italy were exposed to the pretensions of the King of Spain, would not allow such considerable territories in that country to pass,

Digitized by Google

pals, without opposition, into the family of his rival.

This state of things coincided with the projects which Alberoni, having now reached the prospect of the supreme power, was meditating in silence.

The real power of the state had already in a great measure devolved upon him; but he did not think it expedient to come forward with any appointment in the ministry, till he had secured an object he was at that time secretly and anxiously labouring for; he therefore looked round for a man, who might carry the appearance of prime minister for a time, and be removed at pleasure. Cardinal Giudice, the inquisitor-general, who had been re-instated in favour on the banishment of the Princess D'Ursini, struck him as exactly calculated for the purpose. He was an ecclesiastic of noble birth and mean parts, who would be content to act under his dictates, and would oppose no resistance, when it became convenient to dismiss him. Giudice was accordingly appointed prime minister.

The

Digitized by Google

The object to which all the faculties of Alberoni's mind were directed, for which he was willing to make a temporary sacrifice of his ambitious schemes, was a place in the College of Cardinals. A Cardinal's hat would, he thought, efface the little disgraceful circumstances in his early life, and give weight to his character, when he should make his appearance in the political world. Behind the Purple too, he would find a retreat on any reverse of fortune, from a standing maxim of policy among the Cardinals, to protect the dignity in the person invested with it, however obnoxious he might be as an individual, or however acrimonious the persecution he might be exposed to.

He had many difficulties to surmount in the pursuit of this object. His mean birth and parentage, and still meaner occupations, when he came to attract at all the notice of mankind, would be alleged against him: but he was encouraged by observing, what a thousand examples tended to verify, that he who dispenses the wealth, and directs the forces of nations,

Digitized by Google

tions, tramples on those fugitive opinions which feeble vanity would oppose to him.

The Pope, however, had the greatest unwillingness to gratify him, and he immediately applied himself to soothe or rather deceive him into compliance.

The circumstances of the times gave him an opportunity.

The Turks had declared war against the Venetians. They had made themselves masters of the Morea. Their armaments, and occasional descents, spread consternation along the shores of the Adriatic.

The terrified pontiff earnestly implored succours from Spain; but no succours would he have obtained, had he not been seconded by the views of Alberoni.

When it was proposed in the Spanish cabinet to send ships and troops in deference to his prayers and exhortations, Giudice, though a Cardinal, yet affecting to be guided entirely by the principles of a politician, exclaimed against what he called the pious simplicity of the proposal.

Alberoni, with as little pious simplicity, got

Digitized by Google

got all objections over-ruled; and six ships were sent for the protection of Italy.

There were several points of ecclesiastical litigation between the courts of Rome and Madrid. By his influence, the King of Spain withdrew his pretensions, and the Pope prevailed in every instance. These services he took care to have proclaimed and magnified by the Spanish ambassador at Rome.

The King and Queen of Spain were perpetually renewing their solicitations.

The Papal Nuncio at Madrid, gained over by Alberoni, represented his growing power, and the benefit the church might derive from a timely compliance with his wishes.

The Pope could no longer be inflexible; and in a consistory, held the 12th of July, 1717, the long-expected hat was bestowed upon Alberoni:—Now, said he, I have nothing more to pretend to, for myself, I devote myself to the glory of the King.

He now assumed the rank of prime minister. Giudice had been discarded the year before, and had retired in disgrace to Rome,

Digitized by Google

Rome, where he took the opportunity of the consistory to manifest his resentment, representing the indelible disgrace the Purple would sustain by being conferred on a gardiner's son.

Alberoni revenged himself by heaping upon him fresh mortifications.

Preparations for a secret expedition had appeared some time past in the ports of Spain. But no one could discover what was precisely intended.

Alberoni took a pleasure in eluding the conjectures that were hazarded upon the subject. The thought, that upon him were directed the speculations of Europe, without being able to penetrate the mysterious secrecy in which he had wrapped his designs, not a little gratified his vanity. Besides, he might have been disappointed of his promotion, if the real object of his armament had transpired; so that although it was evident, cavalry was to be transported, and mangers were actually preparing for the horses, he went on answering every enquiry with the pretext of a maritime expedition, declaring some times it was to combat the Turks; at others, to

scour

scour the Mediterranean of the Sallee rovers who infested it.

As the preparations advanced towards completion, Barcelona was appointed for the place of general assemblage. Early in the spring of this year, Don Joseph Patino, in whom Alberoni reposed great confidence, had been sent there to have every thing in readiness for the ensuing summer.

On the 24th of July, twelve days after his promotion, part of the fleet had cleared the port. All eyes pursued its course, and various were the conjectures as to its destination. It was seen off Marseilles, steering eastward; and it was then generally concluded, that an attack upon some part of the Emperor's dominions in Italy was intended.

The treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, which pacified the rest of Europe, did not establish peace between the Emperor and King of Spain. The States, however, which laid down their arms, had effected an armistice between them, which, were it faithfully executed, would put it out of their

Digitized by Google

their power to carry on hostilities, and might therefore answer the purpose of a regular pacification.

On the part of the Emperor, he was to evacuate the islands of Majorca and Ivica, and the province of Catalonia; which left Philip in complete possession of the body of the Spanish monarchy, and its immediate dependencies.

It was agreed on the other hand, that until a general peace, there should be an entire cessation of all manner of hostilities both by sea and land through the whole extent of Italy and its adjacent isles:—so that whatever claims Philip retained to possessions in this part of Europe, he seemed by this stipulation to surrender all warlike means of enforcing them. He did not at the same time renounce these claims, and they existed for the purpose of disturbing, at some future period, the harmony which the armistice was intended to establish.

He complained, that the evacuation of Catalonia had not been executed with good faith by the Emperor, who still corresponded with the disaffected in this and other

Digitized by Google

other provinces of Spain. The Emperor recriminated by similar complaints of disturbances fomented in his Italian dominions, by the intrigues of the Spanish cabinet. The Spanish cabinet alleged, he was every day extending his power and influence in Italy, by new and unauthorized pretensions.

The long catalogue of rival titles, which both Princes continued to assume in all their public acts, preserved at once a hostile disposition, and would serve as pretexts to whichever was disposed to attack the other.

The Queen, regarding the Emperor as the principal obstacle to the establishment of her children, was easily persuaded by the view of any scheme, which promised to curtail his power.

An incident happened this year, which added weight to the suggestions of the Minister, and dispersed any pacific sentiments which still adhered to Philip.

Don Joseph Molinez had resided many years at Rome, in quality of envoy from

Digitized by Google

Spain. He was a peevish, captious old man, and had been engaged in a variety of quarrels. The privileges and punctilios of the Spanish embassy, he maintained with the most pertinacious vehemence. One of the sbirri, or officers of the papal police, having, in his opinion, violated them by exerting some act of authority in the Piazza D'Espagna, he had him unmercifully bastinadoed.

But the Emperor, and his adherents, particularly called forth his contentious disposition. He carried on incessant war with every Spaniard at Rome, who had shewn the least favour to the Emperor's cause, though belonging to provinces which at the time had been subjugated by the arms of that Prince.

The Pope had frequently been offended by his violence, and had complained of his conduct. His complaints, long unattended to, had obtained a favourable hearing, when the ambition of Alberoni had disposed the Spanish government to seek to gratify him. An order had been given for the recall of Molinez, and Cardinal Aqueviva,

Digitized by Google

Aqueviva, of a noble Neapolitan family, had been sent to replace him.

In this juncture, before Molinez had left Rome, happened the disgrace of Giudice. Molinez was appointed his successor in the place of inquisitor-general.

As soon as his appointment was notified to him, he prepared to set out for Spain, to exercise his new office. Labouring under complicated infirmities, he did not think it expedient to go by sea, and he could not go by land without passing through the Emperor's dominions. Having with such indefatigable assiduity exposed himself to the resentment of the whole imperial party, he had reason to apprehend some disagreeable adventure, if once he got into the Emperor's power. The Pope gave him a passport, and plenty of indulgences. What would have been more to the purpose, was to have got a regular passport from the imperial ambassador. He however was satisfied with a very equivocal declaration on the part of the latter, and proceeded on his journey. Besides the resentment he had incurred, he

Digitized by Google

was in further danger of being stopped, from the preparations of which the ports of Spain were then full. The Emperor's ministers thought his papers might give some light into the object of these preparations; and their hopes on this head were strengthened, when it was known that he went to Placentia, and had a secret conference with the Duke of Parma. He had no sooner, therefore, set his foot in the Milanese, than, by orders of the governor, he, with all his papers, was conveyed to the castle of Milan.

The Marquis de Sant Philippe, was Spanish resident in Genoa, a man of feeble understanding, as appears by his Memoires, full of transcendant notions of the dignity of his King, and believing wonders of his power. His letter, transmitting intelligence of the stoppage and imprisonment of Molinez, was couched in language, such as Alberoni himself would have dictated. It expatiated on the affront offered to his Majesty. It represented the act of stopping the inquisitor-general, as an infraction of all agreements between

the

Digitized by Google

the Emperor and Spain. Finally, it recommended immediate hostilities*.

Nothing could arrive more seasonably for Alberoni. His preparations for war, which had been long going on, were now complete. His negociation for a Cardinal's hat, promised to come immediately to a close. He wanted only a pretext for the hostilities he had been meditating, and

*These are Saint Philippe's own words:—The Marquis (himself) hearing the news, immediately communicated it to his Catholic Majesty, pointing out the outrage offered to his Majesty, in having dared to stop the inquisitor-general, who was passing through the Emperor's territories on the faith of a passport, and of the word he had received. This, he insisted, was a new infringement of the neutrality of Italy, which was secured by an engagement equivalent to an armistice. He concluded, by a variety of reflections which had for their object, to animate the King to take vengeance for the insult offered him. The Marquis flattered himself, these reasons would finally determine Philip to undertake the war of Italy.

After this candid declaration, the same Marquis seems to complain, that Alberoni should have afterwards loaded him with the responsibility of the war. Mem. de Sant Philippe, vol. iii. p. 195.

a some-

Digitized by Google

a something to work on the King's mind, and engage him to give his consent.

Philip, notwithstanding his slender capacity, and the sort of lethargic stupor in which he was habitually plunged, was easily excited by what was represented to him as an affront, and would greedily catch at any scheme, which had the attraction of glaring colours to recommend it.

Having read the letter, he asked Alberoni's advice. Alberoni's promotion had not yet been determined upon at this time; and the hypocrisy he practised, is really curious. He recommended to the King to send the letter to the Duke of Popoli, for his opinion. Popoli had been rewarded with some of the spoils of the disgraced Giudice; succeeding him as governor to the Prince of Asturias. He was a model of courtly prudence and discretion, and never suggested any thing but what he thought would please. He flattered himself, that on this occasion he had hit precisely the views of the minister. He not only advised war, but war to be carried on exactly where he conceived the minister intended

Digitized by Google

intended war,—in the island of Sardinia, and the dominions of Naples. But Alberoni's refinement quite disconcerted him. "War! (wrote he to Popoli,)—the bare proposal struck me with horror and consternation!"—Popoli, at a loss what to think, abandoned himself, in answer, to a frank avowal of the motives of his conduct.—"Nobody can disapprove of war more than I do. But I thought when the King did me the honour to seem to ask my advice, he had already taken his resolution, with your entire approbation." It was contrived the King should see both letters. Alberoni was gently reprimanded for his extreme attachment to peace, and for exerting an undue influence to bring over others to his own pacific sentiments. He was allowed to give what instructions he pleased to the commanders of the expedition that was preparing to sail from Barcelona.

What his precise views were in thus kindling the flames of war, it is not easy to ascertain. He was, no doubt, ambitious

Digitized by Google

tious of a splendid reputation, and wished to dazzle the eyes of mankind, by bold and magnificent undertakings.

Why Italy and the dominions of the Emperor became the first objects of his warlike operations, may be accounted for by the circumstances in which this Prince stood relatively to Spain, and the complexion of the Queen's ambitious views.

But much perhaps may be attributed to the manner of thinking which prevailed among his countrymen, and which might have infused itself into his mind in early life.

As far back as the time of Petrarch, the speculative imaginations of Italy had reposed with complacency on the thought of driving all strangers, (whom the Italians denominated barbarians, but more particularly the Germans) from a country, its former brilliant fortunes seemed to have consecrated.

A barbarian on the banks of the Danube assuming the title of Cæsar, and affecting the dignity of Roman Emperor, excited the

Digitized by Google

the most lively indignation, in the feeble but vain descendants of the conquerors of the world.

Part of this plan, Alberoni conceived he had the means of executing. He could not entirely deliver Italy from the dominion of strangers; yet if he could put Spain in possession of the Italian territories the Emperor had wrested from it, he would gratify his countrymen, who more readily coalesced with their southern neighbours, than with the natives of the more northern and rugged tracts, and would raise in the eyes of Europe, the splendour and importance of the monarchy immediately under his direction.

Had he succeeded thus far, it is probable his lively imagination, full of the notion of great things, would have carried him much further. But whether he actually speculated beyond these limits, and if he did, what it was he proposed to accomplish, is no more than conjecture.

Men, astonished at seeing him attempt every day something new, set their fancies at work to invent projects for him.

It

Digitized by Google

It was said, he indulged the notion of annexing to the crown of Spain, all it had lost during the reign of Philip II. and since that period; that in particular he meditated the subjugation of the Low Countries, and the United Provinces of Holland. What means he had of effecting these, or any part of these enterprizes, will best appear by a view of the circumstances and dispositions of the principal states of Europe; and the strength and resources of the Spanish monarchy, at the time he entered into the career of his administration.

The two principal states, France and England, were at peace, and even on terms of alliance and confederacy.

Lewis XIV. whose restless and fantastic ambition, had occasioned perpetual struggles between them, was no more. The year 1715, saw the termination of a life which, in its gloomy close, seemed to forebode the misfortunes of his posterity. So solemn and affecting a consideration, calls upon us to pause a little upon his character. The gaudy wreaths which flattery

Digitized by Google

tery twined about his bust, have withered and dropped off. We now contemplate him stript of all adventitious ornaments.

Yet let not too rude a hand pluck off every ornament as adventitious! He may be allowed to borrow some lustre from the glories which surrounded him, during the greatest part of his reign.

The heroes who fought his battles, the poets who sang his praises, the great men in every department of human greatness, who swelled the pomp of his court, raise their voices in favour of the Prince who befriended them, and should mitigate the severity of our judgements.

An air of magnificence is diffused over his history. We feel our hearts agreeably soothed and excited, as we wander among so many splendid scenes, and interesting monuments. In this period of time seems assembled, whatever covers the nakedness of the human condition, whatever justifies a swell of thought in weak, perishable man.

But these high sentiments of admiration cease, when we pass from the decorations of

Digitized by Google

of the temple, and consider only the idol. This Prince derived from nature little intrinsic vigour of thought, little real elevation of sentiment; and what little, nature gave, flattery and prosperity corrupted.

To catch the eyes of the vulgar, appeared to be his sole aim. The manner in which future times might be affected by his conduct, never occupied his thoughts.

He never looked beyond the surface. He did not see the principles of dissolution which were at work in the bosom of his kingdom, and which were destined to accomplish the downfall of his descendants. He did not see the incurable wound, his example inflicted on the system of public morals.

France suffered equally by the licentiousness of his youth, and the superstition of his old age.

Religion, to be seated on the hearts of a people, must appear in a liberal and benign form. Lewis, having loosened the ties of morality in the first part of his life, made religion odious by the subsequent atonement he attempted, by a display

Digitized by Google

play of puerile devotion, and a gloomy spirit of persecution.

His latter days were passed in depression and in sorrow. His former prosperity tormented him by the recollection. He found nothing to interest or amuse him*. His ears were deafened by the jargon of religious controversy, and his kingdom distracted by its violence.

The populace, of whom he had long been the idol, pursued his obsequies with insult, and betrayed on this occasion, the first symptoms of their ferocious inconstancy.

He was scarcely dead, when the Parliament of Paris took upon itself to annul his will. The regency devolved upon the Duke of Orleans, and the will did not set him aside; but the dying monarch appointed a council which was to divide the authority with him, and would act as a perpetual restraint upon his government.

* "Quel supplice d'avoir à amuser un homme qui n'est plus amusable!" were the emphatic words of Madame de Maintenon. How lamentable the condition of the man, "qui n'est plus amusable!"

Digitized by Google

In disregard of these dispositions, the whole power was vested in the Duke. Many circumstances, some of a public and others of a private nature, disposed this Prince to regard England with a favourable eye, and cultivate connections with it.

The throne of France was occupied by an infant. It was natural to speculate on the contingency of his death. In such an event, two claimants might offer themselves for the vacant throne. The King of Spain would have proximity of blood on his side:—but when at the peace of Utrecht, the powers of Europe consented the Spanish crown should remain on his head, they insisted upon his renouncing any claims, that might at any time devolve to him, to the monarchy of France, in terms the strongest that could be contrived; and every solemnity was superadded that could give efficacy to the renunciations agreed upon.

These renunciations confirmed by oath*, taken

* These are the words of the renunciation at the peace of Utrecht:—"And for the greatest strength and

Digitized by Google

taken before the assembled Cortez of Spain, deposited in the archives of nations, forming part of the public Law of Europe, would, it might be expected, have been regarded as an insurmountable bar, and extinguished every hope in the mind of a religious prince. But there is a certain temper of religion, which wonderfully favours any casuistry,* that falls in with present

and security of what is contained in this renunciation, and of what is said and promised on my part therein, I give again the pledge of my faith and royal word, and I solemnly swear by the Gospels contained in this missal, upon which I lay my right hand, that I will observe, maintain, and accomplish this act and instrument of renunciation."

See the whole act of renunciation inserted in the treaty between England and Spain.—Chalmers's Collection, vol. ii. p. 40.

* The casuistry by which he endeavoured to delude himself, was this:—His own renunciations, though made in the solemn manner that has been mentioned, he disregarded; but the renunciations of his grandmother, Queen of Lewis XIV, entered into at the time of her marriage, he considered in the last degree binding. This will of Charles II. which called him to the crown of Spain, he could not be persuaded was valid;

Digitized by Google

present interests and present inclinations. Such was the religion of Philip. He took no pains to conceal, that he regarded all his renunciations as nugatory, and that other barriers were to be sought for, in order to secure his perpetual exclusion. He went so far as, at the death of Lewis XIV, to instruct his ambassador to protest against any regent who should be preferred to him. The ambassador, seeing the spirit which gave the preference to the

valid; Charles being only tenant for life, of his kingdom. All this, says St. Simon, was oddly arranged in his head: but there it was.

Whatever may be thought of this scheme of reasoning, he gave sufficient proof afterwards, that he was no hypocrite; that the sophistry he practised upon others, he had first successfully practised upon himself. So strongly was he persuaded that he was no better than an usurper of the crown of Spain, that, having no other means of quieting his conscience, he abdicated in favour of his son: and notwithstanding he had found his retirement extremely wearisome, and was little pleased with the situation he filled in the eyes of the world, of a private man, having in reality no direct personal share in the government, he could hardly, though strongly prompted by the secret wishes of his heart, be prevailed upon to resume his crown.

Digitized by Google

Duke of Orleans, had the prudence not to obey his instructions.

The Duke, who was not a stranger to these circumstances which disclosed the views and dispositions of Philip, thought of fortifying his right of succession by an alliance with England. He had persuaded himself, the family of Hanover was placed in circumstances similar to his own, and would readily accede to the proposal of a mutual guarantee*.

Lord

* Duclos, and other French writers, strongly disapprove of the Regent's connection with England. They would have preferred, it should seem, an alliance with Spain, or, at least, an amicable leaning on that side. But what would have been the effect of such a conduct? The Spanish minister would have been encouraged to persevere in all his visionary schemes, and France, directly or indirectly supporting him, would have shared in the calamities they would have occasioned. This, France was little able to bear. Just recovering from a long and unfortunate war, its finances in the greatest disorder, amidst the rash and ill-advised experiments of Law, it must have endured the most ruinous consequences. By uniting with England, the Regent preserved the tranquillity of

Digitized by Google

Lord Stair, who resided as English ambassador, had had access to him before the death of the late King; and had made him promises conformable to these views.

His inclinations in private life, accorded with his political system.

The hard task of dissimulation and constraint, he had been obliged to practise during the last years of the deceased King, the gloomy and austere form his own religion had assumed, the noise of theological controversy which was perpetually disturbing him, together with his propensity to a life of ease and pleasure, gave him a

Europe, and kept his country clear of wars, and the expenses of them. He did an essential service to Spain, by bringing the career of its minister to a close, and thereby saving it in a great measure from the effects of his inconsiderate ambition. I cannot therefore see any thing unwise in the policy of the Regent; and I regard only the immediate advantage of France,—I do not speak of the private, but perfectly just considerations by which he was influenced. The engagements he laboured to maintain, were no less essential to the peace and liberties of Europe, than agreeable to his personal interests.

taste

Digitized by Google

taste for the religious and civil liberty, which prevailed in England*.

His prime favourite and adviser l'Abbé Dubois, afterwards Cardinal, who had been some time in this country during the preceding reign, and had formed many connections here, seconded by his influence, the partiality of the Regent.

England on its side, closed with these dispositions. The popular cry was to support the house of Austria against France: but the ministers justly considered there was no object of so much importance, as to counteract the designs of the Pretender,

* He used to take great pleasure in relating an anecdote of a French nobleman, who came over to London in the reign of Charles II. The nobleman fell in love with one of the King's mistresses; and all the King could do, he could not hinder him from making parade of his competition. The King forbade him the court: but the nobleman did not mind that; he followed the lady to the playhouse and all public places. Charles had no expedient to get rid of a triumphant rival, but to request Lewis XIV. to recall him. Lewis effected in London, over one of his subjects, what the King of England could not do. The nobleman returned to tremble at Versailles.

Digitized by Google

and his adherents. In this point of view, they had little to hope or fear from Austria: but France was the quarter to which the Jacobites both at home and abroad, principally looked for assistance. An alliance with the French government would effectually confound their hopes, particularly if one of the conditions was to be, that the Pretender should be sent out of the French territories.

Yet so deeply is the maxim impressed on the French counsels, that the invariable policy of France is to annoy and weaken England, that not the concurrence of all these circumstances, the political interests of the regent, the private bias of his mind, the overtures of the English ministry, could prevail against it.

As soon as the Duke of Orleans was invested with the full authority of Regent, he was far from shewing any zealous friendship for the English government, but, on the contrary, connived at the preparations which the Pretender was carrying on in the French ports for the invasion of England.

Digitized by Google

It was not till the complete failure of this attempt, that the ambassador of George the First, was treated with cordiality, or even with respect by the French ministry*.

There was a party in France particularly hostile to the alliance with England,—the politicians trained up in the maxims of the late reign. These would have broken off all connection with the house of Hanover, and declared decidedly in favour of the Pretender. The clamour and intrigues of this party, had no small effect in producing the coldness and wavering of the regent.

The rebellion which was but recently suppressed, the hopes of the Jacobites not yet extinguished, created anxiety in the British ministry. This anxiety was in-

* A la cour on est tout etonné;—les plus sages commencent à traiter le chevalier de St. George de prétendant. Il y a deux jours qu'il étoit le roi d'Angleterre par tout, & tout le monde avoit levé le masque. Il n'y avoit plus un seul François, quasi personne de la cour, qui mettoit le pied chez moi. Lord Stair's Journal.

creased

Digitized by Google

creased by the preparations which appeared in the ports of Spain, as the bigoted disposition of the King was well known*. They were led to strengthen themselves by alliances. An alliance with France had appeared the best security against the Pretender; but the sudden coldness of the Regent, as long as the exiled family had any prospect of success, had excited doubts as to his real dispositions. The court of London therefore thought it expedient to enter into a closer union with the Empe-

* The Duke declared to Mr. Stanhope, that his Catholic Majesty was so earnest for the extirpation of the protestant religion, that in the several letters that had passed between the King of Spain and the Emperor upon this subject, the King proposes in case of necessity to sell the domains of his crown to the highest bidder, and dispose of all the employments for life in the Indies to the best purchaser, for promoting this scheme; and particularly in one of his letters, he made use of this extraordinary expression, *Je vendrai même ma chemise.*

Benjamin Keene to the Duke of Newcastle, giving a confidential account of the discoveries made by Ripperda. Papers published by Mr. Coxe, annexed to his Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.

ror,

Digitized by Google

ror, who on his side readily closed with any overtures of this kind, apprehending the preparations of Spain had his dominions for their object. A treaty was concluded between this Prince and the King of England in May 1716, in which the contracting parties guaranteed each other's possessions without restriction, and agreed upon the succours to be mutually afforded in case either was attacked.

The coldness however of the Regent lasted no longer, than an opinion prevailed in the French court of the insecurity of the family of Hanover. This being now firmly established, he notwithstanding the murmurs of the old court party, and the studied delays interposed by those who secretly favoured them, by the zealous agency of l'Abbé Dubois, concluded a treaty with England in 1717, to which the States-General became parties, and which therefore received the name of the triple alliance.

In this, the possession of the King of England was fully guaranteed, and the eventual

Digitized by Google

eventual claims of the Regent were guaranteed in return.

The Pretender was to withdraw beyond the Alps. The state of things established by the treaties of Utrecht and Radstat, was to be maintained undisturbed.

England and France appeared thus united against the disturbers of the public peace.

Holland was a party to the treaty, concurring in the same views. She was indissolubly bound to the protestant interest of England.

The leaning of the Italian states was the other way; but the only one of them that could carry any weight into any contest that might arise, was the Duke of Savoy, whom the treaty of Utrecht, had created King of Sicily.

This Prince, besides the common motives of religion, had particular reasons for regarding the settlement of the family of Hanover with sentiments of hostility. He was married to a grand-daughter of Charles the First, and a possibility existed, which he

Digitized by Google

he could not forget, of a claim arising from that circumstance to the crown of England.

As however he valued himself on the singular artifice and refinement of his politics, it was often not easy to distinguish to which side he inclined. When the attack of the Spaniards brought on a war between the Emperor and King of Spain, he negociated with the two courts, making offers to both, and listening to proposals from them in his turn. He was very eager to deceive, and exposed himself to the hazard of being deceived himself.

The powers of the North formed a system by themselves, which only partially and occasionally mixed with the general one of Europe.

Sweden had indeed taken an active and important part in the troubles of Germany before the peace of Munster; but it was only lately, that Russia had risen to the situation of a considerable state, with a view to the great balance of European interests.

Two extraordinary men were at the head of

Digitized by Google

of these several monarchies, Peter I. and Charles XII. both for different reasons indisposed to the English government, but at that time too much animated against each other, to permit the supposition that they would ever unite for the purpose of interfering in the concerns of the Southern states.

Turkey was in a situation to create a considerable diversion against the Emperor on his eastern frontiers, and was actually at war with him. But the success which attended the Austrian arms, under the command of Prince Eugene, promised a speedy termination to it.

Such was the general state of the European powers, at the time of the first enterprize of Alberoni.

I do not mention Germany, as no movement appeared among its Princes, with an exception of the Emperor, who was attacked.

The strength and resources of the Spanish monarchy, may be considered in a four-fold view. The military and naval force actually on foot, the amount of its dispose-

Digitized by Google

disposeable population, the state of its finances, and the genius and character of the people, for the purposes of war.

A war had burned in the bosom of Spain, from nearly the beginning of the century, till within a few years before Alberoni was placed at the head of affairs. Philip had had to maintain his crown by force of arms. He had been by turns victorious and defeated, and necessarily must have had considerable armies on foot.

Alberoni therefore probably found the military establishment of Spain, at a higher point, than if the kingdom had enjoyed perfect tranquillity.

He is said to have had at one period of his ministry, an army of eighty thousand infantry, and twenty-two thousand horse. A prodigious force before Europe had seen those myriads of soldiers, that have since been brought into the field!

But whatever might have been the effects of the war on the army, the navy certainly suffered in the course of it; indeed was nearly destroyed. Alberoni did all he could to re-establish it. He assembled, we

are

Digitized by Google

are told, sixty ships of the line, thirty frigates, and twenty gallies.

But a navy does not consist either in numbers of ships, or of men collected to serve on board of them. There must be naval habits, experience, hardihood, skill, and science. These can be acquired only at sea. A commercial marine is the regular nursery for a military one. Perhaps there can be no other*.

The population of Spain, at present below the proportion of less-favoured countries, was yet lower at the period to which this history refers. It must have been diminished by the war, that was scarcely terminated, and which had extended its ravages to all the provinces.

The war, in this point of view, was in-

* But human affairs are governed by such a complicated variety of circumstances, every day producing new, or until then unperceived causes; and the thing acted upon, Man, is so different at different times, that in speculations of this kind it is extremely unsafe to conclude, because such a thing never yet happened, therefore it never can.

jurious

Digitized by Google

jurious to the military strength of the kingdom.

If it had augmented the numbers of the army, it at the same time intercepted the supply of recruits.

Population had been for some centuries on the decline; various have been the causes assigned. The banishment of eighty thousand Jewish families by Ferdinand the Catholic, and of above ninety thousand Moors at a later period, contributed, no doubt, to this effect.

The celibacy of the clergy, the number of monasteries of both sexes, the spirit of ecclesiastical persecution; all these may be enumerated, and many more circumstances added.

But causes do not fall within the province of the historian. It is for him to deliver what he finds recorded, that the entire population of Spain did not exceed, in 1723, seven millions six hundred and twenty-five thousand souls. It was less some years earlier; so that it is probable in the time of Alberoni's government, there were

Digitized by Google

were not above twelve hundred thousand persons capable of bearing arms.

The finances were in the greatest disorder. The taxes by which the revenue was raised, were for the most part injudicious, and perpetual restraints upon industry and commerce. This was the effect of a number of monopolies, possessed by the Sovereign, which indeed produced some money in their immediate operation, but were injurious to the revenue in its only legitimate source, the wealth of the people.

The taxes were farmed, and the farmers did not pay a just proportion to the government; at the same time, that their rapacity carried distress and desolation through all the provinces.

That branch of the revenue which consisted in duties on imposts, payable at the ports, was defrauded by compositions made with the merchants.

By these and other abuses, the annual income, at the accession of Philip, was reduced to 416,616*l.* English money.

While Orri was at the head of the finances,

Digitized by Google

nances, he succeeded in remedying many of these abuses, and by his exertions raised the income to two millions sterling.

The scheme of Macanaz, which has been mentioned, and which had for one of its objects, to check an evil that was perpetually undermining the revenue, by withdrawing the lands of the kingdom from contributing to its supply, would probably have been encouraged by Alberoni, in the situation he afterwards attained.

In the interval which elapsed between the dismissal of Orri and his elevation, the disorders which the wise administration of the former had partly banished, again appeared. The abuses in the receipt, were accompanied by others equally flagrant in the expenditure.

Assignments on the provinces were a mode, in which numbers of the nobility received pensions, and so much of the revenue never reached the royal coffers.

The consequence of scanty supply on one side, and waste on the other, was that the public income, far from being able to keep pace with any extraordinary expences, was

Digitized by Google

was not adequate to the ordinary expenditure of the government.

The immediate object of Alberoni was, no doubt, to procure money for the variety of expensive enterprises in which he engaged. He therefore chiefly practised the lower and more mechanical part of the science of a financier, which consists in drawing the largest supplies possible from present sources, inattentive to the production of new ones, or the enlargement of the old. He was however the author of some plans formed upon larger principles, and looking to distant results. His speculations were not without a certain grandeur and magnificence, but perhaps not adapted to the circumstances of the Spanish monarchy.

He meditated the increase of the commerce carried on between Acapulco and China, and the eastern regions of Asia, through the intervention of the Philippine Islands. Thus Spanish America would become a chain to bind together the eastern and antient worlds, in an intercourse of industry and exchange of riches. The commerce

Digitized by Google

merce by Acapulco was confined to an annual ship, or at most a few vessels.

In coming from the Philippines, the ship cannot stretch across by a direct course, but must proceed considerably northwards, in order to fall in with the westerly winds that are to blow it over*; so that from the time it leaves the islands, it does not see land till it reaches the coast of California; and here there is no harbour which it can put into.

Alberoni wished to have a diligent survey made of the Californian shores, in hopes of finding such an harbour. Nor did he stop here. He was anxious to have the immense unexplored tracks that stretch north and north-east, admitted to a share of this eastern traffic. Their rude produce was to be exchanged, for the more fashioned and elegant productions of the East.

For this purpose, he encouraged the Jeguit missionaries settled in those parts, to multiply their establishments, and pursue wider tracks of investigation.

* Lord Anson's Voyage.

Digitized by Google

Notwithstanding the increasing demands on the Spanish treasury, occasioned by his European schemes, he was willing to make considerable disbursements for the promotion of these North-American enterprizes.

So intent was he upon the success of his speculations in this quarter, that a man of great wealth in New Spain, offering eighty thousand dollars for the government of California, he refused the offer, apprehending such an appointment would be a sacrifice of ultimate advantage to temporary convenience*.

These were not the contemplations of a little mind. But the world heard only of his extravagancies; and undertakings really calculated to expand his fame, were little known.

I have observed, however, that perhaps they were not adapted to the circumstances of the Spanish monarchy. They would have had the ultimate effect of opening new markets; but Spain was not able to supply those she was already possessed of.

* Natural and Civil History of California.

Her

Digitized by Google

Her American kingdoms were almost entirely replenished by the manufactories of other countries. To have therefore her domestic industry invigorated, so that she might carry on the trade of her own dominions, was what she principally wanted. Alberoni did something for this purpose. He induced Ripperda, a Dutchman, to establish a cloth-manufactory in Spain, and bring over workmen from Holland, who might instruct the Spaniards, and be the means of planting among them habits of useful labour.

One of the causes why the supply of America languished, might be that it was confined to the port of Cadiz. He thought of throwing open the trade to all the ports, as it has been done since, and trying the effects of general competition.

Thus far he went in labouring to extend the commercial industry and prosperity of Spain, in opening sources of wealth, which would afford him no present supply, but might flow out for the benefit of a future generation. But from the character and objects of his ambition, he could not con-

Digitized by Google

fine himself to these, or indeed make them the principal objects of his attention. It was a great deal he did not entirely neglect them, that he sometimes pursued them to the disregard of immediate emolument.

With a view to this immediate emolument, he either introduced the royal monopoly of Tobacco, or established regulations to render it more complete and productive.

These regulations occasioned no small disturbances in the colonies.

A proclamation appeared at the Havannah, commanding all the farmers to bring the produce of their tobacco-fields immediately to the King's magazines, and forbidding every private person to engage in the sale of this article.

A general insurrection was the consequence. The Havannah was besieged by multitudes of people of all colours. The garrison was overpowered, the governor's house plundered; himself and principal officers escaped being massacred, only by taking refuge in the castle. Their lives were

Digitized by Google

were spared, on condition of their returning home in the ships which brought them. The inhabitants sent a deputation to Madrid. The end was, that the government was obliged to yield, and a new governor was appointed.

The minister had no less difficulties to contend with at home. He could not secure the monopoly in question, without establishing custom-houses that should guard against a contraband introduction of the commodity: and to render this scheme of custom-houses at all availing, it was necessary there should be one in every port and frontier town in the kingdom. Now there were several provinces that claimed the privilege of having no custom-house established within their limits.

Alberoni disregarded this alleged exemption. The people of Biscay flew to arms. The inhabitants of Navarre and Arragon followed their example. He was obliged to send troops to quell the insurgents; and thus his purpose suffered a double defeat. Soldiers were kept at home,

he

Digitized by Google

he would have wished to employ abroad; and more spent in paying them, than was ever gained by their presence.

He applied himself, with more success, to remedy the evils he found in the administration of the revenues.

Intendants were sent to the ports; and the fraudulent compositions which had diminished by one third, the produce of the customs, precluded.

The taxes were farmed out anew to the highest bidder; by which, the revenue was in several places considerably increased.

The assignments on the provinces, by which much of the inland revenue had been intercepted, were withdrawn. The grants so made, were reduced to their true characters of pensions, which were made payable at Madrid, and subject to examination as to the reasons for which they had issued, and other circumstances. Many of them not being able to abide this test, were suppressed.

There is a circumstance of more importance

Digitized by Google

tance to any schemes of ambition, which a Sovereign or minister may form, than even the military or naval force he may have on foot, or the state of his treasury, and that is, the genius and character of his people, as turned to warlike enterprizes.

The causes which kindle a military spirit in a people, and which, on the other hand, damp or extinguish it, are often of a nature to escape the most vigilant observation.

History records instances of nations that seemed to have lost all ardour or enterprize in war, suddenly assuming the most formidable attitude: and how this has happened, it is nearly impossible to distinguish.

The character of a single man, has sometimes accomplished this revolution. Sometimes a train of circumstances has led to this result, which observers were inclined to think most contrary to it.

Examples abound, of nations falling, in a manner equally unaccountable, from the height

Digitized by Google

height of military glory, to a state of weakness and dismay*.

This was in a great measure the case of the Spanish nation.

The Spaniards, for some time before the Emperor Charles V. and during his reign, were perhaps considered as the most warlike people in Europe. Their infantry was a rampart of strength in the day of battle. Spain produced some of the most distinguished generals and captains of their time.

This military character was not extinguished at the death of Charles. The re-

* None is more striking than one furnished by our history. The English, in the reign of Henry V, were famed for valour. They gained the most splendid victories, and were near achieving the entire conquest of France. In the very next reign, on the appearance of the person, known by the name of the Maid of Orleans, an universal terror seized the nation. Crowds of deserters were hiding themselves in holes and corners. There is a proclamation directed to the Sheriffs of Middlesex, and those of other counties, to apprehend those who concealed themselves *for fear of the Maid*. Henry's History of England.

putation

Digitized by Google

putation of the Spanish troops continued high, during the reign of his successor. The Dukes of Alva and Parma often led them to victory. Yet, perhaps, at this period, commenced the decline of the military spirit.

Nothing accelerates this decline more than a state of things, where enterprize succeeds enterprize; and no splendid or decisive result is obtained, where the spirit and vigour of a nation that would bound forward with promptitude to some great and glorious object, is harassed by variety, and gradually relaxed and deadened by minute and ignoble details.

This was very much the character of the reign of Philip II. The long inglorious wars in the low countries, in which the fortunes of his house stooped to the genius of the family of Orange, the failure of the armaments against England, spread gloom and discouragement over Spain. The imagination not kept alive by the noise of victories and the glare of conquests, saw nothing fascinating in arms. A languor terminating in imbecility, crept over the

counsels

Digitized by Google

counsels of the cabinet, and extended to those who were to carry them into execution.

Still the Spanish infantry enjoyed some reputation. This was finally destroyed by the battle of Rocroy, fought about the middle of the seventeenth century, which saw this infantry entirely broken and dispersed by the young Prince of Condé.

From this period, the monarchy continued a large decrepit body, till the extinction of the Austrian race of kings, in the person of Charles II.

The war which succeeded, though it, no doubt, thinned the population of Spain, was favourable to the military character of the inhabitants. Some good troops were formed. The people, who were not strangers to the dangers and tumults of war, were more disposed to become soldiers, and better adapted to a military life. No great generals had sprung up; but on the whole, the circumstances were more propitious to the designs of the Spanish minister, than if he had been in a situation to attempt the execution

Digitized by Google

execution of them, precisely at the beginning of the century.

The fleet which sailed from Barcelona, consisted of twelve ships of the line, and a hundred transports, carrying eight thousand infantry, and six hundred cavalry.

This was no very formidable expedition, considering the time and noise of preparation.

To the troops were attached, fifty pieces of battering cannon and twelve field-pieces; provisions, and ammunition, were laid in store for three months.

The squadron was under the command of the Marquis de Mari. The Marquis de Leide was general of the forces.

Such a number of men could not attempt any very considerable enterprize; but the kingdom of Naples was extremely unprovided with the means of defence.

The Emperor was at war with the Turks; and had withdrawn most of his troops from Italy. Handfuls of Spaniards had landed on the coast, and made predatory incursions into the country with success. Swarms of emissaries

Digitized by Google

in the pay of Alberoni, were labouring to excite a popular insurrection in favour of his schemes. He had particularly applied himself to gain over the poor ecclesiastics and mendicant friars. This he easily did by scattering money among them; and he trusted very much to their influence over a superstitious people. The malcontents were observed flocking to the capital, and the hotel of the Pope's Nuncio, Vicentini, was the place in which they used to hold their meetings. Insomuch that the Imperial Viceroy, Count Thaun, judged it necessary to seize his papers, and order himself to quit the kingdom. At the same time, the revenues of a number of ecclesiastics dependent on the See of Rome, were laid under sequestration.

But while these apprehensions prevailed in Naples, and these measures were taking to diminish the danger, the Spaniards, on the 22d of August, landed in Sardinia, and were entire masters of the island by the end of the ensuing month.

Nothing could exceed the facility of the conquest,

Digitized by Google

conquest, but the insignificance of the object gained.

Sardinia is a poor, uncultivated island. There rages a sort of pestilence here in summer*, that would occasion the greatest mortality among any troops that should be left. It could not be of any use to Spain; it would prove rather a burthen.

It seems to be a rule, in the conduct of plans of war and ambition, never to attempt any arduous or decisive enterprize but with the promise of such results as, if obtained, may be deemed a sufficient compensation for the risk incurred, and the alarm excited.

Alberoni flagrantly offended against every part of this rule. He carried on preparations for a length of time, with much noise and ostentation, and created the most eager curiosity, mixed with fear, in all parts of Europe. What do these preparations produce? an expedition of between eight and nine thousand men: and what does this handful of men accomplish? the conquest of a miserable island. Then let the conse-

* Young's Travels in France and Italy.

quences

Digitized by Google

quences be weighed. Spain plunges into a war, in the first instance, with the Emperor; but from the views of other powers, and the engagements they had entered into, she would probably have a contest to maintain with the most considerable part of Europe. She would find herself entangled in a labyrinth; and at every step she made, the intricacy and confusion would increase upon her. Thus, at the opening of his ambitious career, did Alberoni shew his little capacity for what he undertook. He was at this time in no small perplexity and alarm from the illness of the King, which had assumed a dangerous aspect to the physicians, and appeared still more dangerous to the King himself. It partook very much of the nature of an hypochondriac disorder. It originated from the gloomy and exhausting seclusion in which he lived with the Queen. He became a prey to the most fantastic terrors. It was a perpetual transition from his confessor to the Queen, and from the Queen to his confessor. In this state of mind, he was led to make his will.

The

Digitized by Google

The report got abroad, that in this will he appointed the Queen to be regent after his death, and Alberoni her sole assistant and adviser. This occasioned much dissatisfaction among all orders of men.

The latter encountered an adventure, which must have been not a little mortifying to his vanity. The Queen and he, aware how easy it was to make impressions on the feeble understanding of the King, still further enfeebled by his illness, redoubled their care and vigilance to prevent any one from approaching him, who was not in their own immediate confidence.

It happened, that the Duke D'Escalona, the King's major-domo, came to perform the duties of his office. The servant at the door of the apartment, half opening it, told him he had orders not to let him in. "You are an impertinent fellow," said the Duke: and pushing the door open, entered.

The apartment was long and narrow. The King's bed stood at the extremity opposite the door. At the bed-side was the Queen, and Alberoni standing near her.

The

Digitized by Google

The Duke at the time, had a fit of the gout, and advanced slowly, supporting himself with his crutch. As soon as Alberoni saw him, he went up to him in a hurry, and insisted upon his leaving the room. The Duke refusing, he took him by the arm, as if to compel him. The Duke, in the little struggle that took place, fell into an arm-chair that was standing by. As soon as he had recovered himself, he got up in a great passion, called Alberoni a paltry rascal, and applied his crutch to his shoulders. The Queen did not offer to interpose, maintaining the greatest composure during the whole transaction. Alberoni, ashamed of the treatment he had received, wishing the matter to be made as little public as possible, carried no farther his resentment, than to get the Duke banished for a short time to his estate.

As soon as the King was well enough to appear to perform an act of government, he was appointed Bishop of Malaga; but before all the forms of his appointment were gone through, the rich Archbishopric of Seville,

Digitized by Google

Seville, became vacant by the death of Cardinal Arias. He eagerly grasped at this more considerable preferment; but the approbation of the Pope was necessary.

The Pope was under the greatest perplexity and embarrassment. The conduct of his Nuncio at Naples, had created suspicions in the Imperial court, that he secretly favoured the views of the Spanish minister. When it was pretended, that Spain had it in contemplation to direct its arms against the infidels, he had granted the King an indulto, to raise two millions and a half of ducats on the ecclesiastical estates in the Indies, and five hundred thousand on those of the clergy in Spain, for defraying the expences of this pious warfare. But instead of directing the Spanish arms against the infidels, Alberoni had in reality acted as their ally, by attacking the Emperor who was at war with them; still he availed himself of the Pope's grant, and levied the entire contribution from the church, as if he was fulfilling the conditions for which the grant had been made.

Digitized by Google

Count Gallas, Imperial ambassador at Rome, made the loudest and most pressing remonstrances upon this subject. He insisted, the Pope should immediately issue a categorical revocation of the indulto, which had been so egregiously abused. The Pope did not know what part to take. When he talked of strong measures against Alberoni, of recalling his Nuncio from Madrid, Cardinal Aqueviva, the Spanish minister, would terrify him on the other side, by threatening him with an entire rupture with his court, assuring him, no future Nuncio would be received in Spain. The Pope, in the agony of his embarrassment, burst into tears on one occasion, and declared he had certainly damned himself, when he had created Alberoni a Cardinal. Cardinal Giudice, who happened to be present, dryly said, "he would be happy to attend his Holiness any where but to hell."

The truth was, the Pope entertained the most cordial hatred against Alberoni. His promotion had been extorted from him. He would gladly have done any thing to mortify

Digitized by Google

mortify or thwart him: but he prudently reflected, that the object of his animosity was prime minister of one of the most considerable kingdoms attached to the communion of Rome, and he in some measure restrained and dissembled his feelings.

He was however obliged to yield so far to the Imperial ambassador, as to snatch the archbishopric of Seville, from the rapacity of Alberoni. He insisted on the canons, which forbid the translation from one see to another, till after the expiration of three years.

Alberoni was not at all satisfied with this pious allegation of the canons. The canons, he was aware, might easily be construed so as to answer his views, and the Imperial ambassador had more to do in his disappointment, than all the canons together. He was thrown into transports of rage, and had the folly to exclaim, that the Pope, the Emperor, and even the King and Queen of Spain, would answer for it before God.

The Pope thought to pacify him, by informing

Digitized by Google

forming him, through the channel of the good Perè D'Aubenton, that as some difficulty might arise about his residing in quality of Bishop of Malaga, he would put him completely at his ease. I dispense, said he, with your residence for six months. The canons allow you to be absent for six more; so that you may reside where you please the whole twelve.

The success of the expedition against Sardinia, inspired the Spanish minister with additional confidence, in his projects upon Italy. This success, inconsiderable as it was, he might in a great measure attribute to the Turkish war, which employed the arms of the Emperor at a distance, and prevented him from turning his attention to the quarter in which the Spaniards had attacked him. It became therefore an object to the minister to prolong this war.

He had no expedient for this purpose, but to persuade the Turks to enter upon a new campaign, notwithstanding the disasters of the last. So eagerly did he precipitate himself into this course of policy, as

Digitized by Google

as quite to forget his character of a dignitary of the catholic church, and the respect for the public opinion of Europe, which this character imposed upon him.

There lived in seeming retirement at a convent near Paris, an Hungarian chief of the name of Ragotzi. He had been at the head of an unsuccessful insurrection in his native country, and had taken refuge in France, a little before the death of Lewis XIV. He appeared wholly engaged in devotional exercises; but it was not doubted, he would readily lend himself as an instrument, to distress or perplex the government that had banished him as a rebel.

Prince Cellamere, Spanish ambassador, was instructed to communicate with him, and Ragotzi, after a few conferences, disposed himself to set out for the dominions of the Porte.

He had an interview with a person deputed by the Grand Signior, in one of the islands of Hieres, off the coast of France, and soon after made a public entry into Adrianople.

Alberoni corresponded with him by means

Digitized by Google

means of a Colonel Boisiniene, sent him supplies of money and arms, and made use of his agency to accomplish his purpose with the Turkish government.

The Imperial ambassador at Rome, got a detailed account of these proceedings posted up on the Vatican. So lively was the indignation excited in the Roman populace, that the person of Cardinal Aqueviva was not safe.

The King of England and Regent of France, already confederated for the maintenance of the general tranquillity, entered into fresh negociations for securing so desirable an object. They wished as far as it could be compassed, to root up all causes of future jealousies and disturbances. Taking the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt for their ground-work, they however deemed it expedient to depart somewhat from them. This new scheme of pacification was to embrace the Emperor and King of Spain. The Emperor was to be induced to make a formal renunciation of his claims to the dominions in possession of Philip, and particularly of the claim to the

Digitized by Google

the crown of Spain, which he affected to retain. It was necessary to purchase his assent to this part of the treaty.

The island of Sicily, divided only by a narrow streight from his kingdom of Naples, was a perpetual allurement and temptation in his eyes. It had been given, at the peace of Utrecht, to the Duke of Savoy; but as the Duke had received it merely as a boon, the powers that gave it conceived themselves authorized to withdraw it. It was to be made over to the Emperor, and Sardinia in lieu of it to the Duke.

On the other hand, the King of Spain was to renounce his claims to the Emperor's dominions in Italy. As a compensation, Parma and Placentia and Tuscany were to be secured to the children of his second marriage. Philip, who had been instructed to consider these possessions as his indisputable right, and who fondly clung to claims, he regarded inseparable from his crown, would, it was expected, not easily be persuaded to come into the arrangements agreed upon by the mediating powers.

Digitized by Google

So zealous was the King of England to prevent hostilities and disturbances in Europe, that he authorized the Regent to convey to him, through some secret channel, an offer of Gibraltar, as the price of his accession.

The person employed by the Regent to be the secret bearer of this offer, was a man of the name of Louville, who was well known at the court of Madrid.

Every thing was arranged to show the sincerity* of the King of England. An order

* Yet Marmontel, in his posthumous history of the Regency, is pleased to call the offer of the court of London, a gross artifice; and expresses his wonder the Regent did not see through it. He indeed assigns scarcely any thing that can be called a reason for this strong assertion. He says, Lord Stanhope, who communicated the offer to the Regent, knew it never would reach Philip, as Alberoni would shut up every avenue to his presence. Lord Stanhope, however, set out a little after in person for Madrid. He was not therefore without some notion of the efficacy of negociation. The governor of Gibraltar would have produced the order of the King, in order to justify himself to the English public, and the King would have been loaded with the crime. What stronger argument

Digitized by Google

order under his sign manual to the British governor, to deliver up the fortress, was to be conveyed to Philip: and it was only upon receiving this order, that Philip was to give his signature to the proposed pacification in exchange. A Spanish general was to march at the head of an army, and under pretence of summoning the town to surrender, transmit to the governor the

gument can there be, to show the sincerity of both King and ministers, than that the latter were willing to incur this risk? They might have been impeached, and probably would have been so, but the governor must have obeyed the order of his King, and Gibraltar would have been in the hands of the Spaniards, before Parliament could have set any enquiry on foot. Duclos, who seems to have liked the English not much more than Marmontel, terminates his account of this transaction in these words:—"So that it was owing to an insolent minister (meaning Alberoni) that the only opportunity Spain has had of recovering this fortress, was lost." He does not impeach the sincerity of England.

The narrow dislike that runs through Marmontel's work, is the more observable, as he lived in times of decent, often polite and amicable intercourse between the two nations.

order

Digitized by Google

order of his master. The British garrison was to withdraw to Tanjier.

It would have singularly gratified the Spanish nation to regain possession of Gibraltar. Their national pride had long suffered by the spectacle of a garrison of northern islanders, established in a corner of their monarchy. The same spirit of national pride, rendered this fortress extremely interesting to the feelings of Englishmen. They attached an importance to it superior to the consideration of its utility. Few things would have been more unpopular in England, than the surrender in question. The desire which animated the English cabinet to maintain tranquillity among nations, must have been indeed ardent, to induce them to make the proposal.

But schemes of war and conquest had taken entire possession of the mind of Alberoni. No offers or proposals could prevail upon him to discard them.

Scarcely had Louville set his foot in Madrid, when he received an order to depart

Digitized by Google

part immediately, and not to presume to approach the palace. Two hours after, Alberoni came and paid him a visit. Louville warmly remonstrated on the order which had been sent to him. Perhaps it is not known, said he, that I have letters from the Duke of Orleans, written with his own hands, intended for the immediate perusal of the King of Spain; saying this, he produced the letters. Alberoni affected to be surprized. This indeed happens very unfortunately: but what can I do? It is believed I have influence here, but I have none.

A day or two passed. Louville suspecting some stratagem, resolved to place himself somewhere where the King was to pass, in hopes of attracting his notice. Alberoni, informed of this, took care to have the King on his passage encircled by a cluster of his own creatures, so that in the croud he could distinguish no one.

The order for the immediate departure of Louville was reiterated, accompanied with

Digitized by Google

with a menace of violence, if he did not instantly obey. Louville returned to Paris without effecting any thing.

No sooner had the conquest of Sardinia been terminated, than Alberoni recommenced preparations on a much larger scale than before. Three thousand men were left to garrison the island. All the transports returned to Spain, and were to be ready for a new embarkation the summer after. To make this embarkation the more formidable, ships were purchased in the ports of all the maritime nations that would sell them; seamen engaged all along the coast of Italy, in Genoa, Leghorn, and other places. Neutral vessels were seized and compelled to serve for hire as transports.

The greatest activity prevailed at the same time in the military department. A foundery for cannon was established at Pampeluna, and thousands of bombs and balls continually transported to Catalonia. Magazines were formed; stores of arms and every thing necessary for the equipment

Digitized by Google

ment of a soldier provided. Various means were contrived to increase the standing force of the kingdom.

The mountains of Catalonia branching from the Pyrenees, were inhabited by a race of savage banditti, known by the name of Miquelets. They carried a case of pistols in their belt, and a dagger at their side. They were extremely formidable to travellers, and often descended from their mountains to plunder the surrounding country. This hardy kind of life, and these predatory habits, seemed to fit them for irregular, skirmishing warfare. At the termination of the war in Catalonia, they had been joined by multitudes of deserters from the several armies, English, Scotch, Irish, Germans, Dutch, and Portuguese, to the number of no less than five thousand.

Alberoni conceived the project of drawing soldiers from this wild, miscellaneous assemblage. He invited them by proclamation to enter into the service: and six regiments were formed out of them.

The mountaineers of the Siena Morena, hunters,

Digitized by Google

hunters, excellent marksmen, and accustomed to the management of horses, were embodied into two more.

The people of Spain, admiring the enterprising spirit of their minister, and pleased with the glare of military glory he seemed labouring to diffuse over them, contributed largely, by voluntary exertions, to second his ambition. It may be observed, this glare of military glory reconciles nations to almost every sacrifice. The half-starved inhabitant of the falling cottage, forgets the misery and desolation which surrounds him, when he hears of victories obtained, and conquests achieved by the armies of his country.

The provinces raised and equipped regiments at their own expence; sixteen of foot, and eight of horse, were procured by this means. They rivalled each other in the display of their several troops, and the quality of the men who composed them. To promote and increase this emulation, their respective arms and names were engraved on the caps of the infantry, and the mountings of the cavalry.

Money,

Digitized by Google

Money, too, was raised by voluntary contribution:—but never has any great amount been produced through this channel.

Alberoni derived some supply from other expedients. The levy on ecclesiastical property, which the Pope had authorized for the purpose of carrying on war against the infidels, continued, in defiance of revocations and remonstrances. All persons who had been concerned in the management of the revenue, underwent a regular taxation.

By all these means, the preparations of Spain had assumed a respectable appearance by the spring of 1718. Catalonia was again appointed as the place of general assemblage. Fifteen thousand foot and four thousand horse were encamped on the plains of Vic, ready to march to Barcelona, for the purpose of embarkation.

England and France, who had formed the resolution of resisting every attempt to disturb the general peace, beheld with concern these movements, which could have

Digitized by Google

have no other object, but some fresh aggression on the part of Spain; and became more earnest to complete the treaty they had in contemplation. L'Abbé Dubois came to London, and held frequent conferences with the ministers. To model and digest a treaty, which embraced such a variety of interfering claims, and was intended to provide against so many contingencies, was a work of great labour and difficulty. It is said, before the articles to compose it were finally agreed upon, eighty different times was it cast anew; eighty times, the formality of signing and sealing repeated.

England and France were the only two parties, in the first instance, to this treaty. It was a matter concerted between them. It flowed from their pacific views and dispositions. The accession of all the other powers, whose interests might be affected, was to be gradually obtained. It was even proposed not to communicate it to the Emperor, till it had undergone the inspection of the King of Spain, that the appearance of impartiality might not be departed

Digitized by Google

parted from; the accession of the two sovereigns be recorded at the same time.

The States-General did not accede till some time after; yet they and the Emperor, as well as England and France, appear as original parties, and the treaty was denominated the Quadruple Alliance. The Emperor's plenipotentiary in London, immediately signed it.

Monteleone, Spanish ambassador there, did not fail to inform Alberoni of what was going forward, and repeatedly assured him, he must expect England would give the most determined opposition to his designs. But such was the infatuation of the Spanish minister in believing, that what he wished would encounter no obstacle in the accomplishment, that this information had no effect upon him. He treated the whole as the fancy of Monteleone, and was little pleased with the frequency and earnestness of his admonitions.

The treaty was signed on the part of England, France, and the Emperor, the beginning of August 1718.

The Duke of Savoy, who was a principal

Digitized by Google

in the arrangements it contained, who was to cede his island of Sicily to the Emperor, and receive Sardinia by way of compensation, could not be well pleased with this exchange. He had recourse to all the refinements of intrigue and diplomatic chicanery, in order to raise his terms of the bargain. He delayed his accession, till the progress of events rendered it a matter of necessity. Had he continued his wavering, temporizing policy, he would have seen Sicily snatched from him, and obtained nothing in lieu of it.

The accession of the States-General was retarded, as well by their extreme caution, as the dilatory forms of their government. Lord Cadogan was dispatched to the Hague, to combat the objections that might arise to it, and infuse, if possible, a little activity into the Dutch counsels.

Spain was highly favoured in the arrangements of the treaty, yet she could not be persuaded to accede to it. This reluctance proceeded from the rash ambition of Alberoni. No exertion was spared by England or France to overcome it. The generous

Digitized by Google

generous offers of the former, and the mission of Louville from the latter, have been mentioned. The ambassadors of the two courts at Madrid, Col. Stanhope, and the Duke de St. Aignan, applied in conjunction all the means they could devise. The Regent, thinking St. Aignan too young, or hoping, from the co-operation of another French envoy, what St. Aignan alone could not accomplish, sent the Marquis de Nancré to second him.

As soon as the Quadruple Alliance had been signed, Lord Stanhope, one of the secretaries of state, set out for Madrid, to add his influence and solicitations to all that been used without success before.

But two months before his arrival, the Spanish expedition had sailed from Barcelona. It had proceeded to its destination.

This destination had long been a matter of speculation and conjecture. Some further attempt on the Emperor's territories, might be supposed to be intended. He was the only Prince in Europe, with whom Spain was declaredly at war.

Digitized by Google

There were persons who believed the Spanish minister meditated a great and decisive blow against the pirates of Barbary. They waged incessant war with Spain. There was no part of the coast which was not in continual dread of their armaments. Bodies of them would often land, plunder the country, and carry off the inhabitants into captivity. Their incursions had contributed to the depopulation of the maritime provinces.

After having driven the Spaniards from most of their settlements on the coast of Africa, the barbarians were at this time besieging Ceuta.

The preparations collecting at Barcelona, struck terror into them; and if Alberoni had employed them in the manner they apprehended, he might have conferred a lasting benefit on Spain.

But he meditated, what to him appeared a more splendid enterprize.

The King of Sicily had, for some time past, been engaged in a course of busy negociation with the court of Madrid. Extremely dissatisfied with the dispositions of

Digitized by Google

of the Quadruple Alliance, he was labouring to discover what he could gain from the other side. He made proposals, not with a hope, as it should seem, that they would be acceded to, but for the purpose of drawing out counter-proposals, that might throw light on the views of the Spanish minister: so that it was in reality a contest of artifice and dissimulation, in which each party pleased himself with the thought of over-reaching the other.

The King proposed that Spain should pay him a million of crowns in the first instance, and two thousand dubloons a month, while the war lasted. He promised nothing in return, but general co-operation and alliance. Fifteen thousand Spaniards, were to land in the kingdom of Naples; an army was to invade the Milanese; and the King claimed a moiety of the conquests that should be made.

Alberoni, without paying attention to the terms of this proposal, proposed, on his side, that he should be put in immediate possession of Sicily; for which, an equiva-

Digitized by Google

equivalent was afterwards to be given in the Milanese, when it should be conquered.

The King might have discovered in this proposal, what he wished to find out, the views and intentions of the Spanish minister. L'Abbé Mari, his resident at Madrid, did not fail to write to him, to look to his kingdom of Sicily. The King however was lulled to security by the terms of the armistice concluded at Utrecht, generally, for the whole of Italy, and for his dominions in particular.

Alberoni smiled at his simplicity, in believing he would suffer himself to be fettered by such slender paper-ties in the career of his designs.

The expedition sailed from Barcelona, the 18th of June 1718. It consisted of twenty-seven ships of the line, and three hundred-and-forty transports, carrying an army of thirty thousand men; with an immense train of artillery, quantities of ammunition, and abundance of every implement of war. Don Antonio Castagneta, com-

Digitized by Google

commanded the fleet; the Marquis de Leide, the same who had achieved the conquest of Sardinia, the land-forces.

The expedition, after touching at Sardinia, and taking up some troops there, appeared off Sicily the 1st of July.

In conformity with the instructions the commanders had received, a disembarkation immediately took place four leagues from Palermo, the capital of the island.

No sooner did the news reach the King of Sicily, than he ordered his ambassadors at all the courts of Europe, to make the strongest representations against this unexpected attack, so contrary, as he described it, to the usages of civilized nations.

These usages, many of them perhaps no better than ceremonious formalities, interwoven, however, with a voluminous collection of treaties and written engagements between states, composed what was called the Law of Nations, the public law of Europe.

This law, which superficial observers have represented as a mere tissue of diplomat

Digitized by Google

matic chicanery, was one of the pillars on which reposed the civilization of the world.

That equality of strength, which would be the best security for the independence of every part in the great assemblage of nations, is impossible. It never has existed, nor ever can exist. Forms and customs which interposed between the feeble and powerful, a little corrected the necessary effects of the disproportion. They served in some degree as intrenchments to the former, and barriers against the latter.

Mankind will indeed have to lament the day, when brute force shall alone decide, and there shall be nothing to control, or so much as embarrass, its ascendant.

The King of Sicily had not above seven thousand men in the island. He was totally unable to oppose any resistance to the invasion. His representations were directed to procure assistance and support, from the powers that had established the peace of Utrecht. But the uniform answer to his representations was, that, the arrangements of the Quadruple Alliance having been deemed

Digitized by Google

deemed necessary to the continuance of this peace, he had nothing to do but immediately to accede to them: so that this wily politician, after all his shiftings and waverings, found himself, where he was at the beginning. Apprehensive of losing Sicily, and getting nothing for it, he notified his accession, and directed the governors of his towns in Sicily, to receive the Imperial forces.

The same month in which the Spaniards landed in Sicily, the Emperor concluded peace with the Turks at Passaworitz. All the exhortations of Alberoni and his emissaries, could not prevail upon them to expose themselves to the hazards of prolonged hostilities. The undivided forces of the Emperor, were now carried to the war in Italy.

The Spaniards, immediately after their landing, proceeded to Palermo, and took possession of it without opposition.

Count Maffei, governor of the island, had withdrawn to Syracuse.

The whole open country submitted to the Spaniards.

From

Digitized by Google

From Palermo, they directed their march to Messina. The inhabitants compelled the garrison to abandon the town, and withdraw into the citadel.

It was the beginning of August when the Spanish commander was enabled to lay regular siege to this last.

The fleet which had escorted the transports, came round and anchored in the Faro.

The British ministry had not trusted so far to the effect of amicable overtures and negociations, as to forget the possibility of their being disregarded. While therefore Col. Stanhope was pressing the matter at Madrid, without making any impression, a more efficient mediator appeared in the Mediterranean. Sir George Byng had left England early in the summer, at the head of a powerful squadron. After having passed the Streights, he sent an officer to notify his orders to the Spanish court; which were, to resist every attempt upon Italy. An haughty answer was made to him, that he might act as he judged expedient.

The

Digitized by Google

The expedition had sailed from Barcelona; and Sir George, learning the course it had pursued, immediately sailed after it. He arrived at Naples just as the Spaniards were laying siege to Messina. Reinforcements were preparing to pass over to Sicily. He undertook to escort them. On the 9th of August he was in view of the Faro. He sent to the Spanish general, requesting a suspension of arms. The general answering that he had no authority for the purpose; Sir George saw there was nothing to be obtained by negociation or discussion.

The day after, about noon, he descried the whole Spanish fleet drawn up in order of battle across the Faro. At his approach, they stood away, and tried to gain the open sea behind them. A part separated from the rest, and made for the Sicilian shore. The admiral dispatched Captain Walton with five ships after them. Himself engaged the main fleet, and obtained a decisive victory. He received, a few days after from Captain Walton, a letter in these words:

SIR;

Digitized by Google

SIR;

We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast;—the number as per margin.

I am, &c.

G. WALTON.

Canterbury, off Syracuse,
Aug. 16, 1718.

The gallant officer who spoke of his exploit with this Spartan brevity, had captured or destroyed eight ships of war, great and small, and made a rear-admiral prisoner.

These events might have taught Alberoni, how vain and futile are the finest-wrought schemes, the most subtile refinements, the whole tissue of artificial policy, when unsupported by an adequate force!

The natural inference was, that if at any time a great military power should arise, which unfettered by venerable plausibilities, should go directly to its object, trusting entirely to the longest and sharpest sword, the artificial system of European policy

Digitized by Google

policy would be torn in pieces; the fancied balance of power be overturned; and no expedient left to nations to escape the yoke, but bringing forward an equal force to oppose it.

Alberoni said afterwards, that the Queen of Spain, with her violent, restless character, wanted only a great general to disturb all Europe.

Such indeed is the slender tenure by which mankind hold their prosperity, that a general, as described by Alberoni, with armies fit for his purpose at his command, hurried along by a passion for false glory, shall, in the space of a single year, perhaps of a few months, destroy what centuries have built up; what generations of patriot sages, labouring for their country, have transmitted; sweep away every monument of human civilization, and erect his trophies amidst deserts where Industry smiled, and Plenty poured forth its treasures!

Lord Stanhope arrived at Madrid on the 12th of this month. Knowing the mission of the British admiral to the Mediterranean,

Digitized by Google

diterranean, and having reason to apprehend some blow, leading to a rupture during his residence in Spain, he had deemed it expedient, before he entered the Spanish territories, to obtain a regular passport.

He found the Cardinal arrogant, but he was not without hopes, at first, of bringing him to a reasonable disposition; when an express arrived from Cardinal Aquaviva, with the intelligence of the landing of the Spaniards in Sicily, and their triumphant progress from Palermo to Messina.

This was enough for the inflammable head of the Cardinal. He now looked forward to the entire consummation of all his designs. The Spaniards, after having reduced the island of Sicily, were to land in the kingdom of Naples. The inhabitants would rise up in arms to support their operations. Naples would be subdued, and nothing would stop their victorious career, till they had expelled the Germans from Italy.

He laid before Stanhope a string of extravagant propositions. The absolute sovereignty of Sicily and Sardinia was to be ceded

Digitized by Google

ceded to Spain. The children of the Queen were to have Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, and no manner of condition was to be attached to these possessions. The Emperor was to recall the troops he was sending to Italy; and in future not presume to keep up there above a certain number. The British fleet was to return without delay into its ports.

Stanhope discerned from the complexion of these propositions, that the Spanish minister was no wise inclined to accommodation or peace. He therefore set out from Madrid, leaving behind him a note to signify, that if the King of Spain did not accept the treaty of Quadruple Alliance in three months, the allies would declare war against him, and that any attempted hostility during that time, would be opposed by force of arms.

The news of the English victory, which followed soon after the intelligence transmitted by Cardinal Aquaviva, must no doubt have damped the sanguine hopes, and abated the visionary spirit of the minister. He had it proclaimed by beat of

Digitized by Google

drum throughout Spain, that no one should presume to speak of the discomfiture of the fleet. He affected at the same time airs of composure and tranquillity. He was heard to say at a subsequent period of his life, that the death of a friend had affected him more than all the vicissitudes of his ministry.

This which at one time was cried up as magnanimity, will appear deserving of a very different name, when it is considered, that all this unconcern was for dangers he never exposed himself to, and calamities others were condemned to endure.

He laboured to indispose the English public, against their government. For this purpose, he wrote a variety of letters to Beretti Landi at the Hague, and Monteleone in London, which were published and circulated in England, accompanied by one from Monteleone himself to Secretary Craggs.

Some parts of these letters seemed intended for the people of Spain, from the bombast into which they swelled, while others stated in a whining tone, that the heart

Digitized by Google

heart of the King of Spain overflowed with affection for the English nation, whose interests had been sacrificed, by a few individuals consulting only their private designs.

This appeal from the government to the people, was justly complained of in a forcible letter from Secretary Craggs, to the Spanish ambassador.

Alberoni, however, not a little valued himself on the style of his correspondence, and had no doubt, that at the approaching meeting of the House of Commons, a large party would appear, who with factious clamours would echo his representations, and second his views. This was the result of a mistake common to most foreigners, who have never formed a just idea of the character of a British House of Commons. Sometimes they represent it to themselves, as a mere popular assembly, liable like all assemblies of that description to be carried away by the passions of the day, open to seductions of various kinds; at others, borrowing their notions from some of our party writers, as a junto to be

Digitized by Google

bought, generally in the pay of ministers, but not absolutely closed against a higher bdder.

The House of Commons is felt by the people of England, as the most efficient control upon power, and the surest guardian of their rights. Not modelled agreeably to any scheme or theory, it draws to itself, through mysterious channels, all that is considerable in rank, wealth, and talents in the country. Having property for its foundation, it is a friend to order and government; and government derives an equable course from its support: but while it supports government, it effectually controls it. How? not to the eyes of the vulgar by a train of litigious opposition, but by the solemn attitude it exhibits, which intercepts the birth of any proposals, derogatory from the honour, or repugnant to the evident interests of the nation.

Does a question of trade arise? What can tempt the mercantile opulence assembled, to sacrifice or injure it? Is landed property to be affected? Behold the array of landed proprietors that are to decide.

Of

Digitized by Google

Of what importance is it how they came there? there they are. All this adorned and beautified by eloquence, imagination, wit, insomuch that there is scarcely an instance of transcendent talents, that did not find their way into this assembly.

When parliament met, which was the November following, the whole conduct of ministers came under review in both houses, and was gravely discussed with a considerable difference of opinion. Some censured the dispositions of the Quadruple Alliance; others represented the attack upon the Spaniards, without a previous declaration of war, as a violation of the laws of nations. But though opinions were different, there was nothing like factious clamour, no indication of foreign influence. The person who led the opposition in the Commons was Mr. Walpole, afterwards Sir Robert, whose memory has been a little tarnished, by that party virulence which pursued him during his life, but who appears to me one of the honestest and best statesmen this country ever produced. Notwithstanding the authority of

Digitized by Google

his name, and that of the many illustrious persons who concurred with him, a large majority in both houses saw in the Quadruple Alliance, the sincere wish which animated King and ministers to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, and were of opinion, the hostilities which followed were rendered inevitable by the conduct of the Spanish minister.

This last, despairing of creating any sensation in his favour, either in the parliament or public of England, abandoned himself, without reserve, to the animosity the action in the Mediterranean had excited.

He ordered the English consuls at the ports to quit the kingdom, proceeded to make seizures of English property, and encouraged the fitting out of privateers against the English trade.

Nothing was wanting but a formal declaration of war against Spain; which took place in December.

In Sicily, notwithstanding the destruction of the fleet, the Spanish commander succeeded in obtaining the citadel of Messina

Digitized by Google

sina by capitulation. This event was celebrated with great rejoicings at Madrid; and Alberoni affected to consider it as a complete compensation for the victory of the English. He appeared no wise disheartened, but was continually sending large sums, with quantities of supplies of every kind for the support of the war; not doubting but he should soon be gratified with the news of the entire reduction of the island.

After the fall of the citadel of Messina*, the Spaniards proceeded to invest the town of Melazzo. A large body of Imperialists

* Alberoni thought the Spanish commander much too tardy in his operations. A note in the new edition of St. Simon's works, ascribes to him very inhuman expressions on this subject. He wrote to Don Joseph Patino:—"For God's sake, try to give a little warmth to the frigid constitution of your friend, the Marquis de Leide! It is right to spare the troops sometimes; but there are occasions when it must be considered, they are made to be tired, & pour crever quand il convient."

On the contrary, St. Philippe says, he ordered the Marquis de Leide, to preserve his troops with great care, and never to risk a general action, unless he was forced to it.

landed

landed under the command of General Caraffa, with a view of obliging them to raise the siege, but after a sharp and long disputed engagement, failed in accomplishing their purpose.

The Imperialists, however, were receiving constant re-inforcements. The Emperor, delivered from the Turkish war, had no other employment for his troops; and whole bodies repaired to Naples from Hungary, partly by sea, and partly by land. The English, masters of the sea, transported them to Sicily.

Since the accession of the Duke of Savoy to the Quadruple Alliance, the Emperor was regarded sovereign of this island; and the Duke of Monteleone, came as viceroy, by his appointment. The British admiral was indefatigable in transporting troops, throwing in supplies for the support of the Imperialists, and harassing and annoying the Spaniards whenever they approached the coast.

Another body of Imperialists, to the number of fifteen thousand, under General Merci, landed for the relief of Melazzo.

Digitized by Google

lazzo. The Spaniards now gave up the siege, and withdrew southwards. The Imperialists followed them, and overtook them at Franca-Villa. An engagement took place. The Imperialists were repulsed with the loss of five thousand men, and Merci was severely wounded.

Notwithstanding this victory, the Spaniards suffered so much from the unremitting exertions of Sir George Byng, and from the fresh troops which were pouring in against them, that expecting no reinforcements on their side, they saw themselves compelled to occupy a strong position in the interior, and confine themselves to defensive operations. Already had Messina and its citadel fallen into the hands of the Imperialists.

Before the close of the year 1718, Alberoni had failed in an attempt to accomplish a revolution in the capital of France.

His designs against the Duke of Orleans the regent, were of long standing. He had done what he could to snatch the regency from him. It was by his persuasion,

Digitized by Google

sion, the King of Spain had meditated preferring his claims.

The voice of the leading public bodies in the nation, having conferred the regency on the Duke, he applied himself to encourage all the discontented in France, and add to their numbers. He had indeed to complain of similar practices on the part of the Duke.

A regular correspondence was carried on between a faction at Madrid and the Regent, through the channel of the French ambassador, relieved however by a multiplicity of other agents. Count D'Aguilar, one of this faction, had gone so far as to propose declaring the King incapable of the functions of royalty, seizing the person of the Prince of Asturias, and carrying on the government in his name. The Regent did not think proper to lend his countenance to this design, but continued his intrigues and clandestine negociations about the court of Madrid.

This was attacking Alberoni in his own province, and where the stress of his talents particularly lay. Nobody practised more

Digitized by Google

more the whole mechanism of plots. He resolved to give employment to the Regent at home.

His animosity was not only excited against this prince, as the author of secret practices and machinations against him; but he found his public government a constant obstruction to his designs.

The Quadruple Alliance had been concerted by the cabinet of Paris. The irritable minister had received another provocation. He had conceived the notion of augmenting the forces of Spain by levies in France, and encouragements held out to Frenchmen to resort to the frontiers. The Spanish ambassador in pursuance of his instructions, had treated with as many French officers as seemed desirous of entering into a foreign service, and was near concluding an engagement with the Chevalier de Folard, known by his scientific investigations on the art of war.

The Regent learning what was going forward, cut off the whole negociation, by forbidding all the subjects of France to enter into the land or naval service of Spain.

Digitized by Google

Spain. He at the same time ordered all those who were engaged there to return.

The first expedient of revenge Alberoni had recourse to, was the same he practised without success in England. He endeavoured by writings and proclamations to gain a party in the French nation. The French merchants resident in Spain, he promised immunities to, with a number of compliments to the nation in general.

But he had laid trains for overturning at once the government of the Regent, and he flattered himself, that he had only to command, in order to produce the expected explosion.

Prince Cellamare, Spanish ambassador at Paris, was nephew to Cardinal Giudice. Instead of resenting the wrongs done his uncle, his whole anxiety and zeal was exerted, that the minister should forget the degree of blood in which he stood to the man who had offended him. Knowing the hatred he bore the Regent, and his wish to create all manner of disturbances in France, he applied himself to second him in this object.

Digitized by Google

object. The state of the French kingdom was not a little favourable to his views.

The conduct of the Regent had united many different descriptions of men against him. The scandalous excesses, to which he and his daughter the Duchess de Berri* openly abandoned themselves, and which surpassed every thing, which history recorded of the most depraved times, filled religious men with horror, and disgusted

* This unfortunate Princess, who died at the age of twenty-four, in the bloom of youth and beauty, who was adorned with all the graces that captivate, was precipitated into these disorders by really mental derangement. After a night passed in orgies, that create astonishment in a woman of her age and a Princess, she would often go to a convent of Carmelite nuns, and prostrating herself on the ground, breathe the most fervent sighs of devotion. The nun who attended her would exclaim, Bon Jesus! is it possible, Madam, such scandalous things should be said of you? Surely you are a perfect saint. The Princess would burst out a laughing, and return to the same excesses that very night. What was this but downright madness? An improper intimacy was reported to subsist between her and her father. Their public contempt of morality in all other particulars, naturally produced reports of this kind.

in

in the highest degree, every reflecting mind.

The great body of the people murmured at the profusion which attended these excesses. They had looked forward to considerable relief from the burthens which the late reign had imposed upon them; retrenchments in the expence had been promised, but instead of these, the revenues of the state were squandered on worthless favourites, on all who assisted in the promotion of licentious pleasure. Recourse was had to violent systems and theories, in order to remedy the disorder in the finances. The whole fiscal government of the country, was put into the hands of a foreign adventurer; but after a short period of delusion, the experiment only served to aggravate the public distress.

These, and other innovations, were eagerly laid hold of by a large party about the court, whose discontent arose from other causes, but who affected to complain of the little respect shown to the maxims that had long guided the monarchy, and had regulated the conduct of the late

King,

Digitized by Google

King. They were particularly acrimonious in condemning the alliance with the house of Hanover, the desertion of the Pretender's interests, and the steps leading to a rupture with Spain.

These were joined by all who were friends to the parliaments, and wished to give weight to their remonstrances.

The Regent was under considerable obligations to the Parliament of Paris for annulling the will, which would have left him little but the name and appearance of authority. It was expected, that his government would be conducted with much deference to the parliaments. But no sooner was he firmly seated in power, than they lost all marks of regard. His favourites* went further. They affected to treat the whole body of the magistracy with the most insulting contempt. It was even proposed to take a measure, which would have produced what was tantamount to an abolition of the parliaments. The

* Particularly St. Simon, author of the Memoires plein d'un mépris maniaque pour la robe. Duclos.

Digitized by Google

Regent at one time was inclined in favour of the proposal. It was only after long deliberation, he refused his assent to it.

These circumstances of civil dissension were trivial, compared with the spirit of religious faction. The Bull Unigenitus, as it is called, divided the kingdom into two violent parties, one supporting, and the other opposing it. Both were dissatisfied with the Regent. His temper, and ways of thinking, would have led him to perfect neutrality, or rather indifference upon the subject, but l'Abbé Dubois, who had his eye riveted on a cardinal's hat, thought there was no better way of establishing his interest at the court of Rome, than supporting the Bull. His influence, which was all-powerful with the Regent, induced that Prince to declare himself in its favour; but this declaration was accompanied with so little warmth and zeal, as gave little pleasure to the bigots of the party. They turned their eyes to the King of Spain, where they were sure of meeting with fanaticism equal to their own.

Separate, and in some degree scattered

as

Digitized by Google

as these causes of discontent were, they might never have gathered into a design against the government, if there had not been a person actuated by private motives, and under the dominion of furious passions, who was at the pains of uniting them, and giving them something like a plan of operation. This was the Duchess de Maine, of the family of Condé, married to one of the illegitimate offspring of Lewis XIV. Her character was violent and impetuous, full of ambition, which had recently suffered a severe mortification. She had consented to marry the Duke, her husband, at a time when the fondness of his father seemed to promise him the highest rank in the state.

Some time before his death, the deceased King had declared him prince of the blood, and rendered him capable of succeeding to the crown, after the rest of the royal family. By his will, he committed to his care the person of the young King, and assigned to him the command of the household troops. When the will was annulled, of course these provisions fell to the ground.

Digitized by Google

ground. Still the Duke de Maine retained his place among the princes of the blood, and his ability of succeeding to the crown.

Things remained some time in this state, when the Regent, in the autumn of 1718, was prevailed on to strike a decisive blow. The Duke de Maine was deprived of every prerogative, which raised him above the other dukes and peers of France, and reduced precisely to the same rank. Nothing then remains for me, exclaimed the enraged Duchess, casting a fierce and haughty look at her husband, but the disgrace of having married you.

The desire of vengeance now possessed her whole soul. The splendid festivals of her palace*, which in former times had given

* This Princess was distinguished by the magnificence of her entertainments, and the good company of every description she assembled round her. She affected to be a patroness of men of letters. Fontenelle, L'Abbé Chaulieu, Cardinal Polignac, were constant visitants at her palace. She had recourse to every expedient to assist the progress of time. Different sorts of gaming kept her up the greatest part of the night. To these masques, and dramatic exhibitions, were superadded

Digitized by Google

given some employment to her restless spirit were suspended, and she abandoned herself, without caution or reserve, to every obscure adventurer who promised to gratify her governing passion.

peradded, still that cruel enemy to the enjoyments of the idle rich, known to the French by the name of ennui, for which our language offers no equivalent*, continued to pursue her with implacable animosity. When she went to bed, she had a woman to tell her stories till she fell asleep. She afterwards had a reader for the same purpose. The distractions she was thrown into by what she deemed the disgrace of her husband agitated her mind, a little too much however for her happiness. Every night she employed herself composing manifestoes and memorials. Books upon books were heaped upon her bed. Fatigued at length she went to sleep. Her situation is thus emphatically described. She seemed as if deprived of life, or rather oppressed by a lethargic slumber which was interrupted only by violent convulsions.—Mem. de Staal. v. 2. p. 20.

* A clever woman in Paris, femme d'Esprit, expressed her surprize to a friend of mine, that we should have no word to express a thing which prevails so much among us. But this was a mistake. France is the native country of ennui. It is the corrupt growth of artificial refinement in society. An Englishman can bear to be quiet. A Frenchman fancies himself ennuié as he calls it, the moment he is not in a state of bustle and fermentation.

Digitized by Google

Knowing the animosity of the Jesuits, and their whole cabal to the Regent, and informed that many of them corresponded with the King of Spain's confessor, she immediately set on foot a connection with a Père Tournemine, who was pointed out to her as having a large share in this correspondence. Père Tournemine introduced to her acquaintance a Baron Walef, a sort of minute retailer of literary trifles, who was known for scribbling bad verses, and carrying up and down copies of them. This Baron contrived to get a few Louis-d'ors from her, and disappeared.

Cellamare had been looking round for persons disposed to engage in a plot. To this effect he had practised a variety of arts. Though too old to feel any passion for women; yet thinking an appearance of gallantry necessary in a court like that of the Regent, without which he must remain stranger to many who might assist him in his views; he had declared himself a follower of Beauty. It was not this indeed which led to his connection with the Duchess de Maine, who had no pretensions on

Digitized by Google

on the score of beauty. She is described as positively ugly; and among the variety of her pursuits, none of the amorous kind are mentioned. It was her eagerness to disturb the government of the Regent which induced her, after the flight of the mendicant Baron, to have recourse to Cellamere. She hired a small house in the neighbourhood of Paris, where she used to repair at nights, and hold conferences with him. Something in the nature of a plot, was soon agreed upon between them: but originating in violent passions on one side, and the desire of gratifying a precipitate headlong minister on the other, it bore few marks of plan or deliberation. It was generally directed to seizing upon the person of the Regent, and transferring the authority to the King of Spain: but nothing was arranged as to the means of subduing resistance; no provision was made for obtaining a public force.

The Regent was served by a number of spies; so that he had early information of the movements of the Duchess; but these only led to the knowledge of some combi-

Digitized by Google

nation between her and the Spanish ambassador; a more particular account of this combination was obtained by a curious incident.

Cellamare, before he set fire to the mines, (to use his own figurative phraseology) deemed it necessary to send a number of papers relating to the scheme, to Alberoni at Madrid. In the state of vigilance and suspicion observable about the court of the Regent, it was imprudent to entrust them to an ordinary courier, who would certainly be stopped: but the journey of L'Abbé Portocarrero, nephew of the Cardinal of that name, and Monteleone, son of the ambassador in London, appeared a good opportunity of transmitting them without danger. These young gentlemen had spent some months at Paris in a society of pleasure, and had agreed to return together to their native country.

It happened that, the night before they were to set out, one of the secretaries* of Cella-

* Voltaire, for the sole purpose of representing a poor Abbé at a brothel, converts this secretary into L'Abbé

Digitized by Google

Cellamare had an appointment at the house of a celebrated procuress, of the name of La Fillon. Coming late to his appointment, he excused himself by saying he had been detained writing letters which were to be forwarded by the travellers. The girl repeated this to La Fillon, who lost no time in informing her friend and customer, L'Abbé Dubois. The travellers were stopped at Poitiers, and all their papers seized.

Of these papers, two were immediately published by the Regent, in order to justify the measures he judged it proper to take against the person of the ambassador. They were letters from Cellamare to Alberoni, containing observations on the plan of the conspiracy, and referring to other papers which accompanied them. The style is quite burlesque. In one part, he

L'Abbé Portocarrero himself; and adds, that the papers were taken out of his pocket in one of those moments, when no one has his wits about him. No other account of this transaction, of the many that have appeared, mentions any one but the secretary. Voltaire, it is evident, grossly falsified history, with a view merely to a paltry jest.

speaks

Digitized by Google

speaks of trains of gunpowder, of blowing up the government of the Regent, and kindling a conflagration in the whole kingdom. In another, comes this pious sentence: "If it shall please the Divine Mercy to appease the present jealousies and discontents," &c. When Cellamare heard of the seizure of his papers, he had the assurance to go and demand that they should be delivered up to him. For answer, Dubois and another minister Le Blanc, accompanied him in a carriage, and proceeded to examine his house. During this ceremony, Cellamare affected great composure, and indulged himself in satirical sallies. Dubois and Le Blanc, in the course of their examination, came to a particular box. Le Blanc was going to open it. "You have nothing to do with that," said Cellamare, "it contains letters from women: leave it to Dubois, who has been a pimp all his life."

After this, he was conducted to the castle of Blois; to remain there till it was known the French ambassador in Spain, St. Aignan, had reached France.

Alberoni

Digitized by Google

Alberoni had ordered him to quit Madrid in twenty-four hours; but scarcely had he issued the order, when he received dispatches from Cellamare. He was now desirous of securing the person of St. Aignan, as an hostage for his own agent. But St. Aignan, aware of the value of time, in the very precarious intercourse of the two courts, had no sooner received the order from the Minister, than he hurried day and night to the Pyrenees. Here he hired saddle horses for himself and his wife, and left two of his servants in his carriage, to personate himself and her. The servants acted their parts well; made a good deal of noise at the violence offered them; and were reconducted to Pampeluna for their master and mistress. Alberoni was enraged at the stratagem which had been practised upon him, and punished his subalterns who had allowed themselves to be deceived.

On his return to Spain, Cellamare was appointed Viceroy of Navarre; which was considered an approbation of what he had done.

The

Digitized by Google

The detection of the conspiracy was not followed by any severity on the part of the Regent. With all his faults, this Prince had the virtue of clemency:—if what seems to have been in a great measure the effect of levity and carelessness, shall be thought deserving of the name of clemency.

He looked on the world as on a stage:—provided the actors performed well their parts, in whatever characters they appeared, whether in comedy or tragedy, he was amused, and applauded, without reflecting how seriously he himself might have to pay for his entertainment*.

The Duke and Duchess of Maine underwent confinement for a few months. The Cardinal Polignac was banished to the country. Some few imprisonments took place: and thus ended the conspiracy of Cellamare.

To it was attached, as a sort of underplot, a scheme in which the Duke, afterwards Marechal of Richelieu, made a figure.

* Marmontel.

This

Digitized by Google

This young fellow, perfectly run mad with vanity at his success in love-affairs, with some foolish women of distinction, took it into his head that nothing was wanting to complete his character, but some action which should make a noise in the political world. The part of a state-criminal, he thought very shining, and determined to assume it. Trusting, no doubt, to the known good-nature and easy temper of the Regent, he ventured to write immediately to Alberoni, offering to deliver up Bayonne where his regiment was quartered. The discovery of this absurd correspondence terminating in a frivolous young man, only made the Regent laugh. The Duke however was sent to the Bastille, more as it should seem, to carry on the jest, than with any serious intention of punishment. He was allowed every sort of convenience and amusement; his valet-de-chambre attended him; he had his fiddle and his dice-box; but what pleased him most was the winding-up of the comedy,—he was set free by love.

All

Digitized by Google

All the Regent's daughters were true to the gay, unrestrained character of the family. The blood that danced in their veins, the confusion of pleasure and licentiousness which surrounded them, the example of their father and his associates, banished from their heads and hearts every thing like prudence or discretion. One of them, Mademoiselle deValois, conceived a passion for the Duke de Richelieu. He was not a man to make a secret of his victory; it reached the ears of the Regent. Whatever she might do when she was a wife, that was the business of her husband. It was therefore resolved to marry her. An Italian Prince was procured for her: and she was to set out for Italy; she would not however commence her journey, till the Duke, the object of her tenderness, was released from his confinement.

Happy times were these for France, when plots and conspiracies were matters for laughter. Yet while every thing seemed to smile around; while the cursory glance

Digitized by Google

discovered nothing but joy, and gaiety and disport; the causes of blood and havoc were lurking among the decorations of the festive scene! A concealed Fury with a dagger in her hand, stood watching near the bowl of Pleasure. It cannot be too strongly inculcated upon princes and nations, morals, the charities of private life, are what hold together the edifice of society. No one did more to destroy these, through the course of a long life, than the Duke de Richelieu, who has been mentioned.

He was the foremost of that profligate band, who conspired to rob the intercourse of the sexes, of all those sentiments and decencies, which, in the absence of the stricter virtues, half supplied their place;—fidelity, secrecy, honour, chivalrous refinement, purifying and chastising the passions, they did not wholly restrain. He and his imitators were the founders of that school of gross sensuality, in which perished all the better feelings; the heart was hardened, the flower of juvenile

Digitized by Google

venile fancy withered, beauty inspired no delicacy or elegance of thought*.

While these projects were advancing towards an explosion in France, at the very same

* An anecdote will show the character of Richelieu. While he was ambassador at Vienna, he and some other young men lived, what is called a life of gaiety and pleasure. One of those mountebanks who subsist on the follies of mankind, persuaded them that he could conjure up the devil, and by his means gratify them in all their wishes. The key of the hearts of Princes was what Richelieu wished for. The hearts of women, the vain coxcomb was sure of those. The conjuration was to be performed in a stone-quarry at some distance from the city. Night was chosen as the proper time for the ceremony. Some labourers coming to their work in the morning, heard the cries and groans of a dying man, and going up to see what was the matter, beheld a poor fellow in a whimsical dress, weltering in his blood, and the young heroes standing over him with their drawn swords. It seems the conjurer had spent the whole night to no purpose in attempting to bring up the devil. The disappointed party, stung with a sense of their credulity and folly, in the bitterness of mortified vanity, fell upon the wretch, and added a base and cowardly murder to the silly adventures of the night. Duclos, v. ii. p. 379.

It

Digitized by Google

same time, negociations were going forward for supplanting the reigning family in England.

Charles XII. of Sweden, on his return from Turkey, found his enemies had taken advantage of his absence,* to despoil his crown of the Duchies of Bremen and Verden: and these had come by purchase into the hands of George the First.

The Czar Peter too, conceived he had causes of complaint against the same Prince.

A Baron Gortz, one of those restless adventurers, of whom these times were remarkably fruitful, who had been introduced to Charles, during his residence in Turkey, and had accompanied him on his return to Sweden, formed a plan of peace between the two rival monarchs of the North; who were then to turn their united arms against England.

* It is difficult to conceive a more striking union of wickedness and folly. Yet this was the man whom Voltaire delighted to celebrate; whom the fair caressed, the young imitated; whose example was the fashion of his time!

In

Digitized by Google

In prosecution of this design, he travelled to the Hague; and thence corresponded with Count Gyllenburgh, Swedish ambassador in London, and by his means, with the principal Jacobites in England.

The machinations of Gortz were discovered. The Regent of France obtained intelligence of them through the spies he had in all parts of Europe. He informed the court of London. Gyllenburgh was arrested. The same happened to Gortz at the Hague, at the instance of the King of England.

Alberoni had entered warmly into the scheme of the confederacy. He had communicated with Charles and the Czar: and the stipulations to be performed by the several contracting parties had been sketched. —Spain was to supply money; the Czar was to furnish ships for the transport of ten thousand Swedes into England, who were to replace the Pretender on the throne; the King of Sweden in person, was to head this expedition; at the same time, an army of eighty thousand Russians and Swedes, was to march into Germany.

These

Digitized by Google

These projects, which the Spanish minister entertained with his usual sanguine disposition, were overthrown at once by the death of the King of Sweden, who was killed at the siege of Frederickstat, in the middle of December 1718.

But new projects succeeded. Indeed there was no end of them; one begot another, till at last he became engaged to change the whole system of Europe.

The King of Spain was only nominally the sovereign. He had sunk into a degree of lethargy, which bereft him of all his faculties. This was made manifest to the whole world whenever he appeared in public. The person who wished to engage his attention, approached him. The King seemed to listen, but returned no answer; nor did any thing indicate the least perception in his mind, of what had been said to him; not a feature in his countenance was observed to change.

The whole power rested between the Queen and the minister. *She* governed the king absolutely by his appetites; and the visions of ambition, with which *he* fed

Digitized by Google

fed her mind, gave him an unlimited ascendant over her.

Intoxicated by his elevation, he displayed the utmost haughtiness in his whole demeanour. The most distinguished noblemen, he treated with airs of superiority. On the least contradiction, he would break out into the most indecent transports of passion. He wished to have it thought, that in his single person centered the whole administration of government. Insisting that affairs could not be carried on without inviolable secrecy, he kept them entirely to himself, not even disclosing them to the Queen. On no occasion did he take any one's advice. He directed all the foreign dispatches, every public communication to be addressed immediately to himself. He gave notice at the same time, that whoever deviated in the least degree from his orders, should pay for his disobedience with his head.

With so much power, and such overbearing presumption, it might have been expected he would do a great deal; and Spain had need of the most consummate talents

Digitized by Google

talents, and enlightened exertions, to extricate herself out of the state of embarrassment and peril he had brought upon her. England had already declared war against her, and in January 1719, a manifesto to the same effect appeared on the part of France: so that she had now to combat a union of the most powerful states in Europe.

But Alberoni, instead of assuming the attitude of a great war minister, confined himself to the expedients of a petty intriguer. He was busy in stirring up plots and insurrections; he published addresses and manifestoes; he attempted some trifling and ill-concerted diversions. He is said even to have instigated persons to the assassination of the Regent.

This is not the way in which war between mighty nations, is either pushed forward or repelled.

The truly great statesman, who is called upon to handle this tremendous scourge, will evince his abilities, by the firm and elastic arm with which he brandishes it. The first, the great step to conquer, is to

Digitized by Google

astonish, if possible overpower, the imaginations of men. Convinced of this truth, the man whom I am describing, will admit nothing little or paltry into his plans. He will never think of teasing his adversary into defeat. A few but great blows, shining results, though confined to one or two quarters, will be his objects. When his combinations appear in action, they shall break forth with the noise and effect of thunder.

Such was not the conduct of Alberoni.

A set of pilferers and robbers wandered about France, pretending to be employed in the sale of contraband salt. They were joined by many of the idle dissolute peasantry, and their numbers increased to near thirty thousand. They were observed particularly in the neighbourhood of Paris and Amiens, and throughout the whole province of Picardy. They confined themselves at first to partial and obscure depredations; but encouraged by impunity, they at length became formidable enough to attract the notice of government. This was just an occasion to tempt a genius like

Digitized by Google

like that of Alberoni. He expected mighty effects, if he could excite these banditti to what he might call rebellion. He accordingly dispatched emissaries among them for that purpose. It was done:—some regiments were sent to disperse them; they resisted; lives were lost on both sides. But his hopes of a powerful diversion against the Regent, vanished by the infliction of capital punishment on some of the ringleaders, and an edict for disarming the peasantry in a few districts.

In the mean time, while the minister was amusing himself with this petty negociation, the whole frontier of Spain towards France, was in a great measure defenceless. Scarcely were fifteen thousand men assembled, who were slowly advancing towards Navarre.

Whatever army remained in Spain after the embarkation for Sicily, must have been scattered at a distance. No considerable bodies of troops were stationed in places of the utmost importance, and most exposed to an invading enemy; and this was the more extraordinary, as the whole winter

Digitized by Google

had been employed by France, for a campaign in the spring. The Regent appointed Marechal, Duke of Berwick, to the command.

The Marechal had served in Spain, and his son was married and settled there. He himself, was grandee of the first class, and Duke of Liria. He had likewise received from Philip, in reward for his services, the order of the Golden Fleece.

With these circumstances to connect him with Spain, many persons blamed him for accepting the command, but he thought that as an officer engaged in the French service, he had no choice but to obey. He, however, deemed it becoming to send the King of Spain the ensigns of his order. The King, by the persuasion of his minister, who was intent upon gratifying the French officers and French troops, refused to accept them. The Marechal wrote to his son, who had a command in the Spanish army, not to fail doing his duty.

The French took the field in April 1719. They passed the river Bidassoa, which divides the two kingdoms.

Col.

Digitized by Google

Col. Stanhope, who had left Madrid on the breaking out of the war with England, was serving as a volunteer in the French army. He prevailed upon Marechal Berwick to direct his march along the coast, and push on to Puerto de Passages.

This port, situated between Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, is formed by the advancing of the sea through a narrow inlet, which spreads itself after it has escaped from this streight, into a small oval basen. Here were deposited naval stores to a large amount. Six ships of the line were upon the stocks, the whole valued at half a million sterling, which was either burnt or transported to France. Alberoni who had taken no precaution against this loss, who had established no means for impeding the further progress of the invaders, seems to have thought that kingdoms were defended, not by powerful armies, commanded by skilful officers, but by papers and manifestoes. There was no army to oppose the French, but there was an address to the soldiers, exhorting them not to obey their officers and government.

Addresses

Digitized by Google

Addresses of this kind can never have the effect of corrupting soldiers, when a government is tolerably stable. In the ordinary march of governments, the army is as a great piece of mechanism*, where the parts

* I hope, I shall not be understood by any expression in this passage, to favour the system which proclaims an army in all respects a piece of mechanism, and soldiers mere machines. A more stupid doctrine never was propagated, and it has had the effect, that some of the most undisputed blockheads have set up for great generals, on the sole merit of adjusting a coat or a cravat, or at most of directing the accurate performance of a few evolutions. It is the intuitive glance of genius, which sees the means of forming a military force, and giving it the determination most convenient to its purposes. For this, all the springs which actuate and govern the animal, man, must be touched. It is necessary to produce the greatest strength and earnestness possible, both in his mind and body. To make him able and willing, is the point. Accordingly, late French writers speak with much good sense of le moral & le physique d'une armée. No skilful general will disregard any circumstance, which operates upon either of these parts of human nature. The sound of trumpets has struck a panic into an army. The direction of the wind may decide the fate of a battle. Of still more importance, of course, are

Digitized by Google

parts are so disposed as to follow instantaneously each others' motions, receiving the first impulse and direction from above. Appearances, no doubt, will be different, where a long series of causes has been at work to undermine a government; where a government has reached that period of general debility, which immediately precedes its fall.

The next enterprize of the French was the siege of Fontarabia.

Philip, notwithstanding all the circumstances to which he had subjected himself, calculated to spread gloom and dismay over his mind, derived from the constitution of his frame, from his blood and nerves, a good deal of personal courage.

are great moral causes. The spirit of a people, their attachment to their sovereign, their opinion of their ministers and generals, their feelings as to what they are contending for, &c. To this view of the subject, must likewise be referred the superiority of troops who have seen war, and danger to recruits and unpractised volunteers, though these last, if duly answering to their name, are, of all raw troops, most likely to become soon good soldiers."

He

Digitized by Google

He delighted in the noise and stir of arms. He was impatient to appear at the head of his troops, cherishing the hope he had been encouraged to entertain, that when he was seen, the French soldiers would be disposed to go over to him, or at least would be shaken in their fidelity to his enemy, the Duke of Orleans.

Alberoni, for some reason or other, did not encourage this martial ardour. Philip imputed to him the delays, which prevented him from joining his army till after Fontarabia had surrendered. He seemed so much displeased, that it was evident he thought of delivering himself of his minister.

The minister's counsels produced nothing but losses and discomfitures.

Another place where naval stores were collected, Santogna, was attacked by the French, acting in conjunction with a British squadron, and the naval stores destroyed. The town of St. Sebastian was taken; and by the end of August, the King of Spain was dispossessed of the whole

Digitized by Google

whole province of Guipuscoa. Berwick went to carry on the war on the side of Catalonia.

It was the fate of Alberoni to be constantly planning expeditions, and to fail in all his enterprizes.

The Pope, not a little incommoded by the residence of the Pretender at Rome, which was very expensive to him, in order to get rid of his troublesome guest, had about the beginning of this year proposed to the enterprizing Cardinal, to make use of him in some attempt upon England. The Cardinal agreed and wished to see immediately some person, whom the Pretender should depute. The Duke of Ormond went over to Spain in this capacity, and had frequent conferences with the minister. The Pretender followed soon after. He arrived about the middle of March. A fleet sailed from Cadiz, having on board four thousand men, and arms for twenty thousand. It was to take up the Duke of Ormond at Corunna. In doubling Cape Finisterre, it encountered a violent storm, which dispersed the greater part

Digitized by Google

part of it on the coasts of Portugal and Gallicia.

Two frigates escaped, and landed the Earls Marischal and Seaforth, the Marquis of Tullibardine, and three hundred Spaniards with field pieces, in the north of Scotland. This inconsiderable force was soon subdued by General Wightman. The Spaniards surrendered themselves prisoners. The rebel lords effected their flight to one of the western isles, from which they procured shipping for the continent.

All the allies of England had disposed themselves to succour the reigning family on this occasion. Two thousand men were landed from Holland, and six battalions of Imperialists from the Austrian Netherlands. The Regent made a proffer to George I. of twenty battalions for his service.

The Duke of Ormond sailed, with what he could collect of the shattered remains of the Cadiz fleet, and appeared off the coast of Britanny. The intrigues of the Duchess de Maine had reached this province. The inhabitants had been prepared for insurrection by emissaries from Spain. The design was

Digitized by Google

was formed. They were to receive the Spanish troops, march to Paris, and overturn the government. The Duke of Ormond however did not land, but after remaining a short time off the coast, set sail again for Spain. Some gentlemen were beheaded, convicted of having been connected with the design that has been mentioned. Others were obliged to fly their country.

An expedition commanded by Lord Cobham, succeeded in destroying the remains of the Spanish navy at Vigo.

To complete the mortification of Alberoni, the States-General were at length prevailed upon to accede to the Quadruple Alliance.

The Emperor thought he had discovered a plan laid against his life. Monsignor Cini, an aulic counsellor, was arrested at Turin, and conducted prisoner to the castle of Milan. A Count Nimsech, and an Abbé Tedeschi were taken up. The latter underwent the torture.

There was no disturbance or commotion in

Digitized by Google

in Europe, which was not set to the account of Alberoni. The sovereigns combined against Spain, declared his dismission an indispensable preliminary to peace. The most inveterate was the Regent, and he had reason to be so. Alberoni had attacked him in a variety of publications, affecting not to call him the Regent, but the person who assumed the name.

The progress of the French arms made Philip tremble for his capital. Liberal terms of pacification were offered to him, if he would sacrifice the obnoxious minister. He had been already indisposed towards him, hearing the scandal of his private life—the mistresses he kept;—but had he been successful, he might have shut his eyes to those offences. He was not so, and a variety of circumstances co-operated to his fall.

He had rendered himself extremely odious to the people of Spain, who had been taught to believe, he intended to assume the title of Cardinal Farnese, and claim relationship to the Queen.

Digitized by Google

The clergy suspected him of a design to abridge their power and influence, and overturn the Inquisition.

Certain it is, Perè D'Aubenton the confessor, was one of the first to abandon him. Perhaps he was led to consider his fall as inevitable, and had no mind to cling to him in adversity.

Different accounts are given of the mode that was taken to ruin him in the good graces of the Queen. As long as he was secure there, he might depend on the subjection of Philip.

Among the few persons who approached her, was a woman of the name of Laura Piscatori, who had been her nurse. She had followed her from Parma, and was at this time her assa feta, a head waiting woman.

Laura was coarse but shrewd, and full of cunning. Alberoni had not been wanting in appearances of attention to her, but secretly hated and feared her. This she had the sagacity to perceive, and hated him in return.

She wanted therefore little inducement to

Digitized by Google

to become an instrument in his overthrow. L'Abbé Dubois, however, the more effectually to secure her, conveyed a sum of money into her pockets. She was in the habit of talking with the Queen, and took an opportunity of introducing the Cardinal into conversation. It was not difficult to persuade, that so unfortunate a minister ought to be discarded.

According to other accounts, the blow came from the court of Parma.

The Duke saw with uneasiness, the flames of war kindling on all sides, and his own dominions in the midst of the conflagration. All the dangers which threatened him, he imputed to the temerity of the Spanish minister, and he felt, besides, considerable resentment, in beholding one of the meanest of his former subjects, raised to a height in which he no longer felt himself under the necessity of endeavouring to preserve his favour.

The Earl of Peterborough happened to be at this time in Paris. This nobleman was very much in the habit of wandering over Europe, in quest of some adventure. He was tor-

Digitized by Google

tormented in a sovereign degree, with the passion of being talked of. The Regent thought him a proper person to be employed on this occasion. He opened to him his wishes. The Earl was delighted with the commission, and immediately set out for Italy. He had an interview at Novi, with a person from the Duke of Parma, and the whole business was settled. The Marquis Scoti was dispatched to Madrid. Alberoni suspecting his errand, did all he could to exclude him from an audience. This however was not possible, with a person coming on a special mission from the Queen's uncle and father-in-law.

On the 5th of December, Philip took his departure from Madrid, and went to the palace of Pardo. He left an order under his hand, for Alberoni to quit Spain immediately.

Alberoni would have wished to have seen the King, not doubting but his feeble, wavering mind, would not be able to support in a personal conference, the resolution he had been prevailed upon to adopt. But his enemies were too wary, not to provide

Digitized by Google

vide for this circumstance. At their suggestion, the order for his departure was accompanied with a strict injunction, not again to come into the presence of King or Queen.

He was obliged to set out. It is said, he carried away with him the will of Charles II. which called Philip to the crown of Spain. An officer was sent after him, who executed his commission with insolence and contumely.

He pursued his journey through Arragon and Catalonia: on his way he was attacked by the Miquelets. Putting himself with much spirit at the head of his servants, he succeeded in dispersing the robbers.

He obtained a passport from the Regent to go through France to Italy. He met a person whom that Prince commissioned to wait upon him, and under pretence of showing him every civility in his power, surprize what secrets he could from him. Alberoni saw his object, and frankly told him what he saw. Nevertheless he spoke with great freedom, described the King and Queen of Spain,—the former as an uxorious

uxorious bigot, the latter, as possessed with a perfect fury.

It was reported, that he communicated an offer to the Regent, to disclose all the state secrets that had been entrusted to him, particularly the names of all the persons concerned in the conspiracy of Cellamare. It was added, the proposal was received with contempt.

His effects were strictly searched at the custom-house of Narbonne, and no money or jewels found among them.

At Antibes, he embarked on board a Genoese galley, for Sestri di Levante.

The Pope prevailed upon the senate of Genoa to have him arrested. He was however soon liberated, as nothing appeared to his charge, which in the opinion of the Genoese government justified his detention. He now took refuge in the Imperial fiefs of Lombardy, where he remained concealed, frequently changing the place of his residence, in the disguise of a layman, accompanied by a single servant.

Clement XI. dying in 1721, he was invited to the conclave for the election of his successor.

Digitized by Google

In this conclave, he had himself many votes for the papacy.

The Pope elected, Innocent XIII, set him two years after perfectly at his ease, by declaring him absolved of all accusations.

He had established his residence at Rome, and lived with much elegance and splendour.

Persons commenting on this elegance and splendour, observed that so much money had not passed through his hands, without considerable benefit to himself; yet the praise of disinterestedness has been given to him, by writers nowise partial to his memory. He had literally nothing on setting out in life, yet at subsequent periods, he derived wealth from sources he might acknowledge.

The money and jewels he was said to have carried out of Spain, did not appear on the examination at Narbonne, as has been related.

While he resided at Rome, he corresponded with some of the most distinguished persons in Europe both literary and political.

Vol-

Digitized by Google

Voltaire, in his life of Charles XII. paid him a number of compliments. He wrote the historian a letter of thanks, which was answered in that style of studied flattery, Voltaire never failed to offer up to the great:—The obsequious writer wishes to see him Pope.

He was occasionally consulted in matters relating to the Spanish monarchy, and the interests of the Catholic religion.

He often saw the Pretender, and more than once was useful in composing differences which broke out in his family; not always, however, to the satisfaction of the Pretender himself, who, in some of his letters, heavily complained of his conduct.

The eyes of the public followed him in his retirement, and plans of stirring and comprehensive ambition, were supposed working in his thoughts. It could not be believed, that so active a mind was entirely asleep.

The story of the time was, that he sent a Mr. Bernier, whom he had formerly known, when in the service of the Duke

Digitized by Google

de Vendome, to examine the cities and strong places in Turkey. Mr. Bernier, it was said, was three years executing this commission, in the disguise of a Turk.

A publication appeared, detailing a scheme, pretended to have been formed by the Cardinal, for reducing the Turkish empire to the obedience of the Christian Princes, and dividing it among the conquerors*.

About

* This publication appeared in London under the following title: "Cardinal Alberoni's scheme, for reducing the Turkish Empire to the obedience of Christian Princes; and a partition of the conquests; together with a scheme of a perpetual Diet, for establishing the public tranquillity; translated from an authentic copy in the hands of the Prince de la Torella, the Sicilian ambassador, at the court of France." The heads of this scheme are, that at a congress to be held at Ratisbon, an alliance shall be entered into among all Christian potentates, for the end above-mentioned. At this congress, the quotas to be furnished by each of the allies in men, money, or ships shall be fixed. The Emperor and German empire are to raise a hundred thousand men. The Empress of Russia to act against the Tartars with a hundred thousand more. Another army of one hundred and twenty thousand to be raised

Digitized by Google

About the year 1740, he was appointed Vice-Legate of Romagna. Ravenna became the place of his residence, and he

raised by France, Spain, and the other powers of Europe.

A fleet of a hundred ships of the line, with a proportionable number of frigates, to be supplied by the maritime states. The number of thirty ships of the line, and ten frigates is assigned to England. The maritime states are likewise to fit out squadrons for blockading Algier, Tunis, and Tripoli; which are afterwards to be put into their hands. Some notions are offered upon the mode in which the war is to be carried on. The Turks conquered, the Duke of Holstein, Gottorp, is to be declared Emperor of Constantinople. The Turkish dominions in Asia and Africa, with the province of Romania in Europe, to form this new eastern empire. The Catholic, to be the established religion. Then are allotted to the different powers their portions of the spoil.

To this was annexed a proposal for a permanent Diet, composed of deputies from all Christendom, to hold its sittings at Ratisbon, to which all disputes that should arise among Christian states were to be referred. The majority to decide. The state refusing to submit to the decision, to be proceeded against by the Diet.

I have given the above account of this publication, as it is scarce. It is to be seen in the King's library.

had

Digitized by Google

had the pleasure of seeing himself the first man in a town, which had witnessed his very obscure beginnings.

While in this situation, he conceived the burlesque ambition of overturning the little republic of St. Marino; and exerted in this ridiculous enterprize, the restless spirit, which had once disturbed Europe.

Ravenna however was indebted to him for some useful works.

The overflowing of the rivers which descend from the Apennine, and which had inundated the surrounding country, and threatened destruction to the city itself, he conducted into handsome and well-contrived canals, which at once carried off the superfluity of waters, and opened a communication between Ravenna and the sea.

The last years of his life he passed in his native city of Placentia.

He erected a seminary at St Lazaro, close to the ramparts of the town.

In the campaign of 1746, between the confederate powers of France and Spain on one side, and the Austrians on the other, the

Digitized by Google

the armies coming in presence of each other in the neighbourhood of Placentia, he had the mortification to see his seminary, which had been taken possession of by the Austrians, demolished by the artillery of the allies. He was obliged to take refuge in the town.

This was so straitened by the neighbourhood of the hostile armies, that he could not procure any but the meanest accommodations. He was obliged to boil his own pot with some green wood, just cut from a tree that grew behind his house. The furniture of his apartment consisted of a bed, a table, and four chairs.

The Spanish soldiers spoke of him with the greatest respect and admiration, as of a man, who had laboured for the glory of their monarchy, and been sacrificed to the envy of foreigners.

His conversation retained to the last, an uncommon portion of gaiety and vivacity. He spoke Italian, French, and Spanish, with equal facility, passing from one language to the other, according to the persons he conversed with. The political transactions

Digitized by Google

transactions of the time, were the ordinary subjects of his conversation, and he would illustrate and enliven his remarks with anecdotes of his own life. He frequently quoted Tacitus, and his quotations were always in the original.

He died at Placentia, June 26, 1752.

The greater part of his wealth descended to a nephew, Abbé Alberoni.

Alberoni was low in stature, inclined to be corpulent. The expression of his face, was upon the whole ignoble. Yet there was a great deal of vivacity in his eye.

The historian who has given the best account he has been able to collect, of his various and eventful life, may be now called upon to pronounce judgement on the whole of his character, as a statesman and politician; to decide whether he deserved the name of *great* man, which at one period was generally applied to him, or that of a turbulent adventurer, which he has since more frequently obtained.

Voltaire, in his own inconsistency upon this subject, has given an image of the public opinion. In his Life of Charles XII, published

Digitized by Google

published during the life of Alberoni, and while the Cardinal, though not in possession of power, was in the enjoyment of riches and honours, he speaks of him as a great and commanding genius. In his History of Lewis XV, one of his last historical productions, he mentions him with derision and contempt.

The name of great man has been given, with little or no regard to the moral tendency of any scheme of conduct. When we hear of a great man, it never occurs to us, to enquire whether his fellow-creatures were benefited by his life and actions. The expression denotes a certain strength and vigour of mind, without attention to the salutary or pernicious nature of the purposes, for which they were exerted. Indeed, as projects of ruin and destruction require more of boldness, of courage, of those qualities which dazzle the multitude; if we look over the list of great men, we shall find few, whose steps have not been marked by desolation and blood. The humble artizan, the sober merchant, the peaceable industrious citizen of

Digitized by Google

any description, has no reason to thank Heaven for the appearance of a great man, in his or any neighbouring country. It is no objection to the title, that thousands perished by his ambition; that the fruits of industry were laid waste in whole kingdoms; that his schemes occasioned the overthrow of flourishing commonwealths, the dispersion and ruin of innumerable families, the misery of nations!

It may safely be affirmed, that a succession of great men, would convert the world into a wilderness; reduce human nature to a savage state; and leave the scattered inhabitants of a desolated globe, no weapons of heroism, but rude clubs and stones; no trophies to snatch from each other, but the skins of wild beasts with which they covered their nakedness; no conquests to make, but the caverns of their rocks, and the acorns of their native oaks!

It is not therefore much to the purpose, to enquire whether the projects of Alberoni would, in the event of success, have produced any benefit to the country he governed,

Digitized by Google

governed, or the countties affected by his measures? Any reflections to this effect, must be deemed collateral to the point in question.

Considering only what intellectual strength and vigour he may be supposed to have exerted, there is no doubt but the number and variety of his projects, with the industry he displayed while they were in agitation, indicate a mind above the common level, impatient of tame repose, kindling with the imagination of great objects, ambitious of astonishing mankind. But the astonishment which converts itself into admiration and applause, is not simply created by ambition, however daring; there must be success, and here fortune claims a large share in the honours of a great man.

When we survey the history of the world, we do not find effects at all correspond to any causes we can trace in human skill and ability, or any circumstances resulting from the exertions of man: so that every year witnesses the overthrow of some theory which appeared unanswer-

Digitized by Google

unanswerable till refuted by facts. Few men, however extended their knowledge, however various their reading and experience, will venture, from a view of any given combination of circumstances, to predict what event they will produce; and when they venture, seldom will their prediction be verified. These causes which are lost to our ignorance, we express by the obscure, mysterious word *fortune;* and our sentiments of admiration or censure, our emotion or indifference, for the most part depend on this unknown presiding power.

Alberoni therefore, as an unsuccessful projector, cannot descend with much glory to posterity: it is sufficient he was unsuccessful; we need ask no further.

If, however, his ill success could not have been predicted, the causes appear to our imaginations at least, in the state of things, in which his projects were formed. We see him undertaking, with an exhausted treasury, a languid dispirited people, and a military force comparatively inconsiderable, to change the face of Europe,

Digitized by Google

rope, in opposition to the greatest powers united to thwart and counteract his views.

The reader may have gathered from the picture I have exhibited of the Spanish monarchy, and the other great members of the European commonwealth at that period, that, in every point of view, his projects wore the most unpromising aspect.

Many of the errors in his warlike enterprizes as they struck me, have been noted in the progress of the narrative. Almost every thing appears to have been faulty, both in the conception and detail of the execution. As a negociator too, his imprudence and precipitancy are conspicuous. We should not forget, however, how very different might have been our conclusions, had success attended his designs.

The same historian who hazards these strictures, might have been employed in tracing the connection between the effects he accomplished, and the very happy combination of circumstances in which he conceived his projects, and the consummate skill and address with which he conducted them. Such is the value of human fame!

It

Digitized by Google

It has been premised, that the good or evil of his measures was, a question different from that which it was proposed to discuss. With reference however to this question, it would be injustice to withhold a topic, which has been offered by those who have treated his memory with the least severity, that his projects, however wild and chimerical, had by their boldness, and a certain air of grandeur which accompanied them, the merit of awakening the Spanish nation out of the lethargy into which it had sunk, and though unsuccessful in their immediate objects, might have excited a spirit calculated to produce great effects.

THE END.

J. Brettell, Printer,
Marshall-street, Golden-square.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LIVES

OF

CARDINAL ALBERONI,

AND

THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA,

Ministers

OF

PHILIP V. KING OF SPAIN.

BY

GEORGE MOORE, Esq.

VOL. II.

London:
PRINTED FOR R. FAULDER, NEW BOND-STREET,
BY J. BRETTELL,
MARSHALL-STREET, GOLDEN-SQUARE.

1806

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

LIFE

OF

THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA.

WILLIAM, Baron and Duke of Ripperda, was born the 7th of March 1680*, in the province of Groningen, one of the seven provinces which composed the federal republic of Holland.

His family was of antient nobility. The name of Ripperda appears among the signatures to the treaty of Munster, as that of one of the Dutch plenipotentiaries.

* I have taken this date of the birth of Ripperda from the Spanish author, but it does not agree with what l'Abbé Montgon says, that at the period of the conclusion of the treaty of Vienna in the year 1725, he was more than sixty.

Digitized by Google

His immediate ancestors had persevered in the profession of the Catholic religion, though a branch of the family had gone over to the Protestant. He received his education in the college of Jesuits at Cologne.

Early in life he married a rich heiress of the province of Holland. Seeing himself in possession of great wealth, he aspired to the honours and public situations of his country. To qualify himself for these, he renounced the religion in which he had been brought up.

He was Colonel in the service of the States, during the war of the succession. He employed the leisure of his military profession, in becoming acquainted with several languages. He could speak with fluency French, Spanish, and Latin. He applied himself at the same time to the study of trade and manufactures. Towards the end of the war, he was elected Deputy for his province to the States-General.

He was ambitious of being employed abroad in a diplomatic capacity; and for this

Digitized by Google

this purpose was forward in displaying the accomplishments which might recommend him.

During the congress of Utrecht, he sought the acquaintance of the several foreign ministers, and busily mixed in the political circles which gathered round that celebrated assembly.

The peace of Utrecht put an end to the long war which had ravaged Europe, but left many points of litigation among the contending powers yet unsettled. Commercial arrangements of importance remained to be adjusted between Spain and the Dutch republic. To accomplish this, was a mission requiring some skill and address. Ripperda eagerly solicited it, and was in consequence appointed.

He set out for Spain in May 1715, leaving behind him his wife and a son and daughter. She died in 1717, just as she was preparing to join him.

He brought with him on his arrival at Madrid, only the character and title of envoy extraordinary, but he received the

Digitized by Google

year following his credentials, as ambassador from the States.

A treaty of commerce was, at this time, in a train of negociation between England and Spain. Ripperda lent his assistance in forwarding it, and received the commendations of the English ministry.

Philip V. had recently espoused Elizabeth of Parma. The office of prime minister had been given to Cardinal Giudice; but the real power resided in the Queen, and her creature Abbé Alberoni, envoy of Parma.

The court of Spain exhibited a scene extremely tempting to the views of Ripperda. Chance and caprice reigned with absolute dominion.

The adventurers who succeeded, kindled hope in all those who had yet to make good their advancement. Here then as in her chosen temple he resolved to devote himself to the worship of Fortune.

He possessed many of those superficial endowments, which dazzle the great as well as the little vulgar. He discoursed with

Digitized by Google

with much fluency and rapidity on all subjects, and nothing seemed difficult to his lively imagination. He succeeded in persuading many of the principal persons about the court, that he would be an acquisition to the Spanish monarchy. Those who had a taste for conversions, were gained by the hopes he held out to them, of returning to the Catholic faith.

Giudice soon gave way to the man, whom he had been allowed to represent, and Alberoni became prime minister in appearance, as he already was in effect.

Ripperda was made sensible of the change, by the check which was imposed upon his enterprizes. The mockery of devotion could not blind the wily Parmesan. He appeared a rival adventurer, pursuing the same objects of power and wealth. The two politicians maintained a show of goodwill; but Ripperda did not fail to cabal against the minister. He was the meanest in the crowd of his daily worshippers, but he had secret interviews with the king and Queen, censured his measures, insinuated that he himself would be able to contrive much

Digitized by Google

much more advantageous plans, and with the connivance at least of D'Aubenton, the confessor, if not absolutely in concert with him, laboured for his overthrow.

His interviews with the King and Queen, gave him a thorough insight into their characters; and he resolved no longer to delay the change of country he had meditated.

He had continued all this time ambassador of the States, and in this quality was instructed by his masters, to present a memorial against the embargo laid on the Dutch shipping, a little before the expedition for the conquest of Sardinia. It was in the beginning of March 1718, he set out from Madrid on his return to Holland, where he proposed resigning his employment, and then transferring himself with his family to Spain. This he did with all expedition. The States declared themselves satisfied with his conduct in their service. He might have looked to other and more distinguished situations in his country. But all his thoughts were turned to the execution of his scheme.

Having

Digitized by Google

Having settled his private affairs, he returned to Madrid in June of the same year, taking his children along with him.

He immediately fulfilled the expectations of the Catholic zealots, by again changing his religion. The ceremony was performed at the palace of St. Ildephonso, in the presence of the prince of Asturias, and several of the grandees of Spain. A devout sermon was preached on the occasion, and concluded by a laboured panegyrick on the new convert.

Just at the time of his arrival, the expedition which afterwards appeared intended against Sicily, was on the point of sailing.

As well to be busy about something, and display his genius in political plans and speculations, as out of the secret desire which possessed him of supplanting Alberoni; he drew up a report for the perusal of the King, in which he endeavoured to shew, that the best employment for the troops which were assembled, would be to make a descent in some part of Scotland or Ireland, and carrying from thence the war

Digitized by Google

war into the heart of the British dominions, replace the Pretender on the throne.

He sedulously cultivated every means of advancing himself.

Knowing the influence of the pious cabal in the court of such a prince as Philip, as well as the singular zeal and activity they exerted both in their friendships and enmities, he spared no pains to secure their good word; putting on the appearance of singular religious fervour, expressing the utmost contrition for his past errors, and declaring he could never be sufficiently grateful to God, who had opened his eyes to the truth.

But his morality did not keep pace with his religion; for, at the same time, he applied to the English envoy for fourteen thousand pistoles, in the name of Cardinal Alberoni, which the Cardinal never heard of.

He sought all the avenues to the Queen's favour, procuring recommendations to her from her mother the Duchess of Parma, and availing himself of the good offices of the envoy from that court.

To

Digitized by Google

To extend and increase the opinion he had already established of the extent of his knowledge and capacity, his pen was indefatigable at the same time, in drawing up schemes and projects for the improvement of the Spanish commerce and marine. Alberoni could not but be aware to what all this industry tended. Hoping however perhaps to engage him in his interest, or at least give a different direction to the activity of his mind, he employed him to get over workmen from Holland, for the purpose of establishing a cloth-manufactory, of which he was to have the superintendency; and granted him a pension and estate.

Ripperda, by means of some friends, procured fifty master-workmen, who landed at St. Ander, and were thence conducted to a place called Azeca, where the establishment was first laid. But, it being observed that this situation was unhealthy, ill-supplied with provisions, and not possessing those conveniences of wood and water, which were necessary to carry on the manufacture, the establishment was transferred

Digitized by Google

transferred to Guadalaxara; where it remains to this day.

This establishment, the sole monument of Ripperda's interference in the affairs of the Spanish monarchy, was, according to his plan, to be on a very large scale, and to accomplish a very important object. It was intended to supply not only the home-market, but the whole of Spanish America; so that Spain would become freed from the sort of tribute she now pays foreign nations, particularly the English*. It was to employ at home the whole of the wool she produces. He calculated this might be done, by means of a thousand looms he proposed setting at work in his manufactory.

The effects he had in contemplation, have not been produced. Spain is still indebted to other countries for the greater part of the cloth she consumes, and for

* At one time, the Spaniards paid the English two millions sterling for woollens. The sale of English cloths in Spain, has, I am informed, considerably fallen off of late years. The Spaniards, however, use a variety of other woollens imported from England.

what

Digitized by Google

what is used in her colonies. However, a good deal is fabricated at Guadalaxara. The works are entirely at the expence of the King, and on his account. But though he possesses the monopoly of home-made cloth, he is, at the end of every year, a considerable loser. There is not, in the first place, that vigilance and economy, which a private person labouring for himself, and at his own risk, would be able to introduce. In the next place, in order to maintain any thing like a competition, with what is imported from abroad*, the King must sell his cloth at a reduced price. These two circumstances account for the loss regularly incurred, notwithstanding the cheapness of the wool, and that there is no deficiency in hands to be employed, or in any of the natural productions and circumstances requisite to the prosperity of the manufactory.

Still this establishment is of the greatest use to the country. It has spread an air

* The Spanish cloth is inferior to the foreign, chiefly in the dye and cleanness of surface.

of

Digitized by Google

of industry and cheerful busy population all around. It affords employment to twenty-four thousand persons in the town and the neighbouring districts. A late French traveller says, not a single beggar is to be seen among all the inhabitants*.

Ripperda, however, was not diverted, by this commission of establishing a manufactory, from pursuing his intrigues against the minister; neither was he softened by the grant of the pension and estate: so that the minister, a little before the loss of his power, was provoked to recall all these favours. Ripperda was, at the same time, deprived of his superintendency, his pension, and estate.

His hostilities were, no doubt, animated with the greater vehemence and zeal from the fear which must have hung over him, of being detected in the money he had secreted.

He had soon the pleasure of seeing driven from his situation, the person whom he might now regard as his declared enemy,

† Bourgoing, tableau de l'Espagne Moderne.

and

Digitized by Google

and whose enquiries might lead to his humiliation and punishment. The only fruit, however, he immediately derived from his fall, was to have his apprehensions quieted, and to regain what had been taken away from him.

An interval of some years elapsed before he emerged from the obscurity of private life. His principal employment during this time, was in forwarding the establishment at Guadalaxara:—not that he had abandoned his ambitious views. Some opportunities occurred, of cultivating the favour of the Queen, which he did not lose sight of.

In 1721, he quitted his state of widowhood, and married a noble Castilian lady; by whom he had two sons.

The beginning of 1724, witnessed a singular revolution in the court of Madrid.

King Philip, sinking under the malady of mind and body which had long oppressed him, felt his religious scruples every day acquire new power over him. Père D'Aubenton, whose strong decisive manner

Digitized by Google

ner had given him great relief, was dead. He had been succeeded by another Jesuit, Father Bermudez, who did not possess the same facility in solving his doubts and perplexities : so that the King could not be dissuaded from executing the design he had formed, of resigning his crown to his son. It may be imagined, how disagreeable this design was to the Queen.

The Prince who would be called upon to wear the crown, was the son of the former marriage; so that she was exposed to receive the treatment often bestowed on a step-mother. As long as she was supported by Père D'Aubenton, she had been able to divert the scheme of abdication : but, deprived of the assistance of his authority, she was obliged to put on the appearance of consent.

The King and she retired to the palace of St. Ildephonso, fourteen or fifteen leagues to the north of Madrid ; where he amused himself in planting extensive gardens, and building and adorning a church. She took care to have conveyed to the place of her retreat, all the money she could

Digitized by Google

could by any means amass. A considerable sum was mentioned at the time, no less than four hundred thousand ducats.

Ripperda, convinced from the character of the new King, that the real power would continue to reside with her, and that she would seize the first opportunity of resuming her rank in the state, looked upon her still as the person who might raise him to the elevation he aspired to. He contrived to open a correspondence with her; and she was so far influenced by his suggestions, as to send large sums and her jewels to Parma.

What he foresaw, happened. The young King Lewis died a few months after he had been proclaimed; and Philip, though not without some scruples, and opposition from his conscience, yielding to the strong bent of his inclinations, returned to the exercise of an authority of which he had bitterly felt the suspension.

Lewis had not been wanting in deference and submission to his father. He consulted him on every occasion; and the father's answers were the rule of his government. The Queen, and her adviser the Marquis de Grimaldi,

Digitized by Google

Grimaldi, dictated these answers, and she might consider herself as reigning. Yet to be deprived of the pomp and ceremonial of royalty, was extremely irksome to her. It was equally so to Philip.—Minds trained up in the manner theirs had been, could find no occupation in solitude and retirement. Ripperda had introduced himself to the Queen; she had the power of rewarding the assiduities he had paid her, when not actually seated on the throne; and he might entertain well-founded hopes of conciliating her favour. He had no rivals to encounter. Alberoni was gone; D'Aubenton, whose influence might have been exerted in counteracting his views, was in his grave; Bermudez would neither be willing nor able to give him any opposition.

After the departure of Alberoni, Philip had acceded to the Quadruple Alliance, and peace was restored to Spain. The Spaniards evacuated Sicily and Sardinia. The former, according to the stipulations of the treaty, was given to the Emperor; and the latter, to the Duke of Savoy.

But the scheme of the Quadruple Alliance

Digitized by Google

liance did not answer the purpose, which the powers who with so much deliberation and difficulty framed it, had expected; points of dispute still subsisted, particularly between the Emperor and King of Spain.

Though by the express terms of the Quadruple Alliance, to which the Emperor appeared an original party, he categorically renounced the title of King of Spain; yet, on some pretence or other, he continued to assume it after the treaty had been completed by the accession of all the powers that were intended to be included. There was no settlement respecting the affairs of Italy.

As early as 1721, a general congress had been convened at Cambray, to carry into execution the purposes of the Quadruple Alliance: but in the end, nothing was done. Four years elapsed, which were consumed in dinners and parties of pleasure among the Plenipotentiaries assembled, or in discussing and settling trifling points of ceremonial.

In the mean time, the Queen of Spain

Digitized by Google

was tormented with the most vehement impatience to procure a settlement for her son Don Carlos. A number of difficulties had arisen respecting the succession of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, which the Quadruple Alliance gave to her children. She was extremely anxious to have these difficulties removed; and she thought the best method of doing this, was to open a negociation immediately with the Emperor. An alliance with the court of Vienna, tempted her in another point of view. She cherished a hope of marrying her son to the eldest Archduchess. Thoughts of such an alliance had been entertained in another quarter: and the motives which had prompted those thoughts, produced more than common zeal to carry them into effect.

There was a knot of reverend politicians at Rome, whose time was whimsically divided between heaven and earth,—between pious contemplation and worldly intrigue.

Cardinal Alberoni took a distinguished part in the deliberations of this mysterious circle. Political schemes and projects were

Digitized by Google

were his natural element; and he resorted to them as the best mode of filling up his time. There was a brother Cardinal not behind-hand with him, either in eagerness of speculation, or gravity and importance of decision; Cardinal Cienfuegos by name. Father Alonzo Cienfuegos, a Jesuit, was a native of Spain. He had pubished a most profound treatise on the Trinity, which placed him in the highest rank of theologians. He however occasionally suspended his theological studies, to think of the affairs of this world. He had been a zealous partisan of the house of Austria in his native country; which procured him a Cardinal's hat, and the employment of Imperial resident at Rome.

These congenial spirits, discoursing on the state of the world, agreed in lamenting the fallen fortunes of the Pretender, and in the merit of re-establishing him; by which, three kingdoms would be gained over to the orthodox faith. But how was this to be done? how was the Catholic religion to make head against its enemies, at a time when Protestant states were com-

Digitized by Google

bining, and many Catholic princes appeared extremely lukewarm in the cause, or rather inclined to the heretics? These were the questions which they asked themselves. The appearances of combination to which the brother Cardinals referred, arose from a transaction which happened in the city of Thorn, in the month of July 1724.

At a procession celebrated by the Catholics of the town, a riot broke out between them and the Protestants. The latter insulted some images the others held in great reverence, and committed other outrages. The Catholics carried their complaints to the Polish diet. Judges were deputed to inflict severe punishment for the affront they had received. The proceedings were carried on with all the spirit of fanaticism. Magistrates and grave respectable citizens suffered on the scaffold.

The Protestants all over Europe were filled with indignation and alarm. Once the sword of religious persecution was drawn, and blood began to flow, where would it stop? Some of the Catholic princes of

Digitized by Google

of Germany betrayed dispositions hostile to their Protestant subjects. The Protestant presses teemed with publications, calling aloud for vengeance. The King of Prussia, and other princes of the same persuasion, appeared disposed to espouse the Protestant cause.

Alberoni and Cienfuegos, struck by these appearances, and taking notice of the inclination of the French ministry to cultivate amity with England*, came to this result, that nothing would more materially serve

* St. Simon is exasperated at this inclination. He accuses Dubois, from whom he supposes it to have originated, with having been bribed by the English court. It continued during the administration of the Duke of Bourbon by the same means; his mistress, Madame de Prie, who had an absolute ascendant over him, having been bribed likewise. He does not say Cardinal Fleuri was bribed, but he was subjugated by Walpole, the English ambassador. It is impossible to investigate the validity of the charge against the two former; but from whatever causes this long peace proceeded, it promoted the happiness of mankind, and could not have been injurious to France, unless it be maintained, that the interests of France are incompatible with the tranquillity of the world.

the

Digitized by Google

the interests of the Catholic religion, than establishing a close alliance and connection between the Emperor and King of Spain. A sort of treaty was concluded between them, Alberoni representing Spain, and Cienfuegos the Emperor. The scheme was immediately transmitted to Madrid, and the pious cabal instructed zealously to forward it.

The scheme happened to coincide, as it has been observed, with the hopes and views of the Queen. It was therefore adopted without much hesitation.

Ever since the correspondence commenced between Ripperda and the Queen, during the short period of her retreat, he was much in her good graces. He had been attentive to all the little means of confirming her favourable disposition. He had continued paying assiduous court to the Jesuits, and their devout followers. The Jesuits looked upon him with pride and exultation, as brought over to the true faith by the force of their arguments. He was their religious child, the plant of their rearing. He was befriended by their

 partisans,

Digitized by Google

partisans, and was singled out as the most proper person to be sent to the court of Vienna. Those who recommended him, spoke of his skill in languages, and his acquaintance with prince Eugene, which he had formed during the war of the succession.

How far his head was in that state of calmness and composure which qualified him for a negociator, the reader will judge by the project he delivered in before he left Spain. He proposed that one hundred thousand infantry, and thirty thousand horse, should be immediately raised, and a hundred ships of the line be equipped, without very clearly explaining how or for what purpose; only he gave to understand, the regulations he would introduce into the trade with the colonies, would produce great treasures. An annual saving, of at least ten millions of crowns, would immediately accrue.

This proposal however was thought to denote a great statesman. He was promised the place of head minister, immediately on his return.

He

Digitized by Google

He set out for Vienna in October 1724, and arrived there the month following. He resided in the suburbs, under the name of Count Pfaffenberg. He eluded the vigilance of all the foreign ministers, during most of the time he preserved this incognito. It was only in the February after his arrival, that St. Saphorin, envoy from the King of Great Britain, learned from Petcum, minister of the Duke of Holstein, that a Dutchman, the description of whose person answered to that of Ripperda, held long and secret conferences with Count Zinzerdorf by night.

He however could flatter himself with very little success, in these multiplied conferences. The Emperor's ministers, who saw no great advantage in an alliance with Spain, unless Spain yielded in every point, and who were encouraged by the eagerness of Ripperda, would not listen to any treaty, in which he was not prepared to make every sacrifice.

Ripperda might have returned without accomplishing any thing, when, very seasonably, orders came to him, to conclude the

Digitized by Google

the treaty on any terms. Philip and his Queen had just received from France a severe mortification, and what they deemed an inexpiable affront. In the bitterness of their vexation, they thought they could not make sufficient haste to unite themselves to the Emperor. The circumstances were these:—

The conclusion of peace between the King of Spain and the Regent Duke of Orleans, had been followed by a double alliance between the two branches of the Bourbon family.

Don Carlos was affianced to Mademoiselle Beaufolois, fourth daughter of the Duke; and an Infanta of Spain, only four years old, passed into France as the future spouse of the young King. As long as the Regent lived, this arrangement remained undisturbed. But no sooner was he dead, than it was proposed to set it aside. The Duke of Bourbon who succeeded him in the direction of affairs, dreading to see the family of Orleans, whose resentment he had incurred, ascend the throne, was impatient to give the young King

Digitized by Google

King, a wife capable of bearing children. In the midst of these thoughts, he was thrown into the greatest alarms by an illness which befel this prince, and which appeared for some time to threaten his life. He lost no time after his recovery in sending home the Infanta, to make room for a queen of a riper age.

Ripperda, with the latitude allowed him, brought at length his negociation to a close. Three treaties were produced. Two were immediately made public, the other not till some months after. The one known by the name of the treaty of Vienna, was accompanied by a treaty of commerce. The political arrangements were, for the most part, the same as those of the Quadruple Alliance. The Emperor's ministers however contrived to introduce an article, which guaranteed the succession of his hereditary dominions to his daughters, on failure of male issue.

It was in the commercial part of the negociation, that the greatest advantages were extorted from Spain, as the price of any treaty whatever.

The

Digitized by Google

The Emperor, desirous of introducing the benefits of trade into his dominions, had erected two trading companies, one at Trieste, and the other at Ostend.

The letters patent establishing the Ostend company, are of the year 1722. They permitted the company to carry on commerce with both East and West Indies. The maritime states, particularly the Dutch, protested against this permission. They contended that by special treaties and public acts, the commerce in question was interdicted to the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands. Spain, but the year before, joined in this protest. Nevertheless the Emperor's ministers obtained from Ripperda, every concession for this company, they could wish for. The Spanish ports, both in Europe and the Indies, were thrown open to its ships, and every encouragement given to its enterprizes.

As some compensation for these advantages surrendered by Spain, the Emperor entered into a stipulation, which appeared in the treaty that was afterwards published,

to

Digitized by Google

to obtain for the King of Spain, Gibraltar and Minorca, by good offices if possible; if not, by open force. The same treaty regulated the succours to be furnished on both sides, in the event of a war.

In addition to these treaties, were several articles intended to remain for ever secret; France was to be despoiled of several provinces, the Pretender to be replaced on the throne of England. Another, which must have been dictated by the bigotry and visionary spirit which distinguished the Spanish counsels, and of which the Emperor's ministers must have perceived the madness, was, that the Emperor and King of Spain bound themselves utterly to extirpate the Protestant Religion, and not to lay down their arms, till this design was fully and effectually executed.

All the commercial, and other sacrifices that have been mentioned, did not satisfy the Emperor's ministers. Ripperda was obliged to promise that Prince immense sums of money, and he probably distributed among the ministers themselves, some part of

Digitized by Google

of the large remittences he received during his residence at Vienna*. Ripperda having by one means or another concluded his negociation, and gratified the wish of the King and Queen of Spain, to be allied on any terms with the Emperor, was formally appointed ambassador. He dropped his incognito on receiving his appointment, and, on the 22d of August 1725, made his public entry with great magnificence into Vienna. His good fortune completely overthrew whatever sobriety of understanding he had remaining; nothing could surpass the extravagance of his conduct and conversation during the short period of his embassy. He promulgated in every company the secret articles lately concluded; he announced the determination

* The only account he could give of these remittences, was, what the Spanish author calls cuentas del gran Capitan, which means a very general and loose account. This account, such as it was, does not appear. He was not remarkable for purity in money matters, and a good deal might have been appropriated to his own use; some part we may suppose was employed in forwarding the negociation.

of

Digitized by Google

of his court, to espouse the cause of the Pretender, and declared that to promote his interest, was the principal object of his negociation; and that he had secured the concurrence of the Emperor. The expressions he made use of, were as unlooked-for, as the matter of his discourses:—Let King George take care of himself, would he say, or he will soon be sent back to his German principality. When he spoke of the treaties of which he had been the author, he set no bounds to the praises he conferred on himself. The public could not find out in what these praises were merited; lampoons and pasquinades against him appeared in all parts of Europe. A mock advertisement was posted up one night on the door of a padre Ascanio, Spanish envoy at Florence;—If any one can show that a single article in the treaties lately concluded at Vienna, is to the advantage of Spain, let him apply within; and he will receive a hundred pistoles, as a reward for so useful a discovery.

There was a man at Vienna, about as wild

Digitized by Google

wild and extraordinary as Ripperda himself,—the Duke of Wharton*, a nobleman with some genius, but not a particle of judgement.

* The picture which Pope has drawn of him, must be regarded as quite the sport of fancy, bearing no resemblance to the original. Those glaring tints, those contrasted lights, those curious and whimsical combinations are not to be found in real life. The truth is, the circle of real life is but a dull round; the painter that should exhibit it without any colouring or exaggeration, would excite little interest. This is felt by those writers who undertake to weave fictitious narratives, without borrowing assistance from the admitted marvellous. They must have recourse to a marvellous of their own; strong decided characters, violent passions, unlooked-for incidents, extremes of virtue and vice, beauty smiling with every grace and accomplishment! These and similar particulars they blend together, and thus is their work completed! The young unexperienced mind, who knows nothing of the world but from such representations, is quite surprised to find every thing so tame and languid; every thing sketched, as it were, in faint water-colours; men and women employed, for the most part, in the business of their professions; those who have no profession, in getting rid of their time!

The romance of real life, lies indeed within a narrow compass.

He

Digitized by Google

He had lately, from a natural levity and inconstancy of character, abandoned his country, and repaired to Rome to offer his services to the Pretender. He was wandering from court to court, with the busy air of an agent for his new master. In the course of his political rambles, he came to Vienna, while Ripperda was there; the mission of Wharton led him to visit Ripperda, and similarity of character soon converted the acquaintance into intimacy.

They frequently saw each other; and their conferences were carried on with such an air of diplomatic mystery and importance, as to engage every one's attention. St. Saphorin, a vigilant minister, did not fail to transmit intelligence of these mysterious interviews, as well as of the discourses of Ripperda which seemed to throw light upon them, to the English court.

The English ministers, considering the support of the reigning family as essential to the civil and religious liberties of their country, thought, in a matter of such vital importance, they could not exert too much watch-

Digitized by Google

watchfulness or take too many precautions. They were not moved by the raillery or declamations of their adversaries, in and out of parliament, who accused them of spreading unnecessary alarms. They were content to be thought too timid, when confidence and neglect might lead to the destruction of every thing dear to Englishmen. Immortal thanks to these generous spirits! If this island is free,—the freest country that ever flourished on the face of this globe, smiling in all the glories of liberty, allied to order and good government; to their perseverance in defiance of ridicule and noisy rhetoric, is it owing! Their firmness of circumspection, their courage of prudence, their resolution of not being intimidated out of their wise fears, saved our ancestors from the calamities which bigotry, and restless, ungovernable ambition, would have poured on their heads!

In order to counteract the designs, whatever they might be, of the powers united by the treaty of Vienna, they formed the scheme of a counter-alliance; no time

Digitized by Google

was lost in putting it in execution. The King of England undertook a journey to his German dominions; he had an interview with the King of Prussia, who was standing forward as protector of the Protestants, in Poland and Germany. France, against whom the treaty of Vienna was principally directed, immediately signified her concurrence in the views of the two monarchs, and a treaty was concluded in the first days of September, between the three states, denominated the treaty of Hanover.

When Ripperda heard of this treaty, he exclaimed with frantic insolence, We will teach those little gentlemen to make treaties!

About the end of October, he set out from Vienna, on his return to Spain, after having given every one a singular notion both of himself, and of the court that employed him.

He left behind him a son by his first wife, nineteen years old, who was appointed his successor in the embassy.

He had an audience of leave from the Emperor,

Digitized by Google

Emperor, and without seeing any one else, began his journey, accompanied by a single servant.

As he could not go through France, he took the road of Italy. He passed through Florence, where he saw the Grand Duke, to whom his presence could not be very agreeable, as a principal instrument in those arrangements, which gave his dominions to the children of the Queen of Spain. He took shipping at Genoa, for Barcelona.

Immediately after his landing, all the officers of the garrison went to wait upon him. He gave them an ample account of all his transactions at Vienna, told them the Emperor had one hundred and fifty thousand men ready to march at an hour's warning, and that Prince Eugene had assured him, the King of Spain should have, in case of war, as many more in six months. He shewed the utmost contempt for France, and particularly for the person of Monsieur le Duc*, and his government.

Should

* The Spanish author speaks frequently of Ripperda's attachment to the Duke of Bourbon, and of his relying much

Digitized by Google

Should the Hanoverian league, he said, dare to oppose themselves to the designs of the Emperor and Spain, France would be pillaged on all sides; the King of Prussia whom he called the grand grenadier, would be driven out of his country by the Emperor, in one campaign, as the King of England would be also, in the same time, out of his dominions in Germany, and out of his English ones by the Pretender: he added that the reconciliation between France and Spain, should never be whilst he had any authority; he only wished to live till it was brought about, as being assured he should then die a very old man*. Allowing himself but a short repose after

much upon the latter's friendship. He inserts a letter, supposed to be written by Ripperda after his fall, in which he seems to attribute the disgrace that had befallen the Duke, to the disposition he had evinced of patronizing him. But it appears by Lord Harrington's correspondence, that as often as Ripperda had occasion during his ministry to speak of the Duke of Bourbon, he did it in the most insolent terms. It is clear, therefore, the friendship mentioned as subsisting between them, is an error of the Spanish author.

* I have nearly transcribed L. Harrington's account.

Digitized by Google

his voyage, he took horse, and rode with all possible dispatch to Madrid, like a common courier. He arrived here the 11th of December, and alighting only for a few minutes at his house to see his wife, he went directly to the palace, booted and spurred as he had arrived.

It was late in the evening, and the King was closeted with the Marquis de Grimaldi; five or six courtiers were in the antichamber, who did not immediately recognize Ripperda. He took no notice of any one, but desired to be instantly admitted to the King. The officer in waiting, informing him the King was engaged with the Marquis de Grimaldi, he answered in a tone of derision, and expressed great surprise and impatience at the length of Grimaldi's audience.

When Grimaldi came out, he eyed him with a supercilious air, and paid him no kind of attention. He remained a considerable time with the king.

The abruptness and secrecy of his departure from Vienna, gave rise to an opinion that he had been recalled in disgrace. It, however,

Digitized by Google

however, immediately appeared that his conduct on that occasion was merely the result of whim, and of the singularity of his character. The morning after his conference with the king, he was declared secretary of state, without any particular department; immediately the whole management of foreign affairs was put into his hands, as he signified by a circular letter to the several ambassadors. He drew to himself the superintendency of the commerce and marine, and nearly engrossed at one time the whole authority of government. He received the title of Duke, and was created Grandee of Spain.

These accumulated honours flowed from a source the public were not acquainted with. He had indeed formed an alliance between the courts of Vienna and Madrid; and though he had purchased this alliance by a number of sacrifices on the part of his master, he had done no more than comply with his master's wishes, and execute his orders. But to do this, required no great skill or address, and his succeeding in this point, did not appear to merit the extra-

Digitized by Google

extraordinary marks of gratitude and confidence he was gratified with.

The secret of his elevation was not discovered till afterwards. He contrived to persuade the king and queen, particularly the latter, (who, from the eagerness and vehemence of her wishes, was ready to believe every thing that flattered them,) that by a secret stipulation, the eldest Archduchess was to be given to her son Don Carlos *. This delusion of the queen

* That he should have told this to the Queen, is easily accounted for; that he should have affirmed it every where as long as he was interested in propagating the belief of such a circumstance, is likewise probable: but that after his fall from power, when he had no motive to deceive, he should have mixed it with what were considered by the English court as discoveries of importance made to their ambassador, is very extraordinary. The marriage of the Archduchess appears in the confidential narrative of these discoveries, communicated by Benjamin Keene to the Duke of Newcastle. We should be tempted to believe, there was in reality a stipulation to this effect, if all accounts did not concur in representing the assertion as an imposture of Ripperda, by which he supported his deciduous power. Shall we say, that he contracted such a habit of falsifying facts, that it did not leave him when he could have no view in putting it in practice?

was

Digitized by Google

was the sole foundation of his fortune. The moment her eyes were opened, he descended from his greatness. His ministry was one continued series of expedients to preserve the bandage he had fastened upon them. It is impossible to read without some compassion the perplexities and embarrassments he was led into by one first principal falsehood. Never man paid more dearly for the precarious rank and splendour he appeared to enjoy. He had recourse every day to some new invention. Pressed by the anxious doubts and questions of the Queen, he was obliged to fabricate a regular novel to satisfy her.

The Archduchess was soon to commence her journey to Spain; but the number of princes who aspired to her hand, and the angry passions that would possess them, if it was known the destined husband was chosen, rendered it necessary to conduct the matter with the utmost secrecy. Preparations were however making for her departure; her gowns and jewels were in readiness; the ladies to accompany her were appointed. All this was written to him

Digitized by Google

him in confidence by one of the number. He went so far as to produce letters he affirmed came to him from his supposed correspondent.

As, however, he was aware this deception must have an end, he formed another scheme; which was, to compel, in some measure, the Emperor to do, what according to his story he had promised,—to marry his daughter to the Spanish prince.

This he proposed accomplishing by bringing about a reconciliation with France, when he would use the weight and influence of that kingdom in determining the Emperor.

But it was not easy to open the way for this reconciliation. The passions of the Queen against the French government, excited by the sending back of her daughter, raged with unabated violence; and as she was persuaded of the intentions of the imperial court to gratify her wishes in the marriage of her son, she was averse from every thing that might create jealousy in the Emperor, or interfere with the union

Digitized by Google

union she was anxious to cultivate with that Prince.

The two objects of Ripperda's policy were somewhat at variance with each other. All his hopes were ultimately founded in a reconciliation with France; and yet he could not manifest his desires for such an event, much less make advances towards it, without alarming the Queen, and exposing himself to a detection that must precipitate him from power.

The only method he could think of to extricate himself from these difficulties, was to engage, if possible, the French government to make the first advances on its side, and to put a great deal of anxiety and zeal in these advances. This, he persuaded himself, would happen, if he could create jealousy and suspicion between it and England, to whom it had united itself by the treaty of Hanover, if he could beget an opinion that England was ready to sacrifice the engagements of this treaty, with a view to the commercial advantages she might obtain from Spain. France, he calculated, seeing

Digitized by Google

seeing or thinking she saw this disposition in England to abandon her alliance, would hasten to renew her connexion with Spain, to secure herself from a general abandonment.

He therefore communicated as much as possible with the English ambassador, and laboured to produce the appearance of a busy and mysterious negociation; — the more busy and mysterious it should seem, the better it answered his views. The place of English ambassador was filled by Colonel Stanhope, afterwards Lord Harrington*. He had been in the same situation during the ministry of Cardinal Alberoni, and was perfectly acquainted with Ripperda. His long residence in Spain enabled him to form a correct judgement of the Spaniards, and of the strange court he had to negociate with.

Stanhope possessed no common sagacity and penetration, with unremitting vigilance to every thing that might be passing around him. He had spies in all parts of the court, in all the public offices; so that he got im-

* I call him, indifferently, Colonel Stanhope, or Lord Harrington.

mediate

Digitized by Google

mediate information of the most minute particular. The friars who had access to the most considerable houses by their employment of saying masses for the dead, were all in his pay. But the circumstance in his character which secured him a decided advantage in his conversations with Ripperda, was his unalterable patience and phlegm. He was described by the Portuguese minister as the man who never interrupted those who spoke to him.

Ripperda was ill qualified to encounter so cool a negociator. The rapidity of his fortune had worked up his warm imagination to a degree of ferment, little short of insanity. This was not diminished by the peculiar difficulties of his situation.—The scheme he had formed to disengage himself, required the utmost command of temper and the most delicate management in the conduct of it. The expressions he had made use of at Vienna, on his arrival in Spain, and even after he was placed at the head of the ministry, were directly contrary to the principles on which it rested. They proclaimed

Digitized by Google

proclaimed determined hostility against France, and betrayed designs the most alarming to England.

He did not stop at these inconsiderate expressions. In one of his private conferences with the English ambassador, he disclosed the stipulations concluded at Vienna; which were intended to remain secret, particularly those directed against Gibraltar. Probably the levity of his character, and his wild habits of speaking, alone produced this disclosure. Some persons, however, were disposed to think he had a design in it, which was, by giving the most formidable and menacing appearance to the confederacy of the Emperor and Spain, to work on the fears of the English government, and tempt it to enter into amicable arrangements with these powers; which, disposition evinced he would make subservient to his views upon France.

If such was his design, it completely miscarried. England, connected with France and Prussia, and supported by the other states that seemed inclined to join their alliance,

Digitized by Google

alliance, regarded, without any violent dismay, the confederacy of the two courts.

If the disclosure of Ripperda had any effect on the fears of the English Government, it was the reverse of what he intended;—it confirmed its tendency to cement the union established by the treaty of Hanover.

It was important, the circumstances disclosed should be known to Europe, and particularly to the people of England, in order to infuse fresh vigour into their exertions, by shewing the alliance of the Emperor and Spain was directed to extort from them sacrifices the most repugnant to their honour and their interests, and ultimately to the overthrow of a government they justly deemed essential to their happiness.

The English ambassador therefore listened with his habitual calmness and composure to the flippant and loquacious Ripperda. He was aware that the Spanish minister, when he came to reflect upon what he had said, would, with all the violence and hurry of thought which distinguished him, not be entirely blind

Digitized by Google

blind to his imprudence. His adherence to his word was not to be relied on: he would without hesitation contradict what he had said a few hours before, and he always accompanied his assertions, though perhaps directly contrary to each other, with multiplied oaths and imprecations.

If he did this on general occasions, it was to be imagined he would not be restrained on this by any punctilious veracity, where he had such signal imprudence to retrieve, and where the importance of the object would excuse him in the eyes of the world.

Fully to ascertain and authenticate the discovery he had been betrayed into, and thereby render it subservient to the advantages that might be drawn from it, it was necessary a third person should witness it, whose testimony might be resorted to, in case Ripperda should find it convenient to deny it.

The English ambassador, with this view, testified no eagerness or pleasure when he heard it; but at the next conference, contrived

Digitized by Google

trived the Dutch ambassador should be present, and artfully engaged Ripperda to repeat it.

Having obtained the sanction he wanted, he lost no time in transmitting the intelligence to his court. It was introduced into the King's speech at the meeting of Parliament, and of course found its way into the foreign gazettes.

Ripperda complained of the use which had been made of a private conversation; and if public transactions could be supposed subject to the delicacies and proprieties which regulate private life, it must be confessed he would have complained with reason.

He would have gladly explained away what he had said; but his evasions were of no avail against the pertinacious Stanhope, who still insisted and appealed to the testimony of the Dutch ambassador. Driven to extremity, he lost all command of temper, and impatiently exclaimed; "Well then, since you will have it so, I did speak as you mention, and every thing I said was perfectly true."

He

Digitized by Google

He sorely felt the engagement which his indiscreet conversations in favour of the Pretender and his cause, had fastened upon him. Any steps to execute this engagement, would, he knew, shut the door to all negociation with England, and, by consequence, run directly counter to his designs.

But he was not at liberty to shake it off. The King and Queen were transported with zeal for any measure which might extend the Catholic religion.

Irritated as they were against France, they had declared themselves willing to sacrifice their resentment, if France would join in a religious war in Germany.

The Pretender was at all times the object of their secret wishes and affections. Every acknowledgement of the reigning family in England, they looked upon as an act of dissimulation imposed upon them by necessity. It nowise operated in restraining or confining their machinations to subvert their throne. They had concluded with the greatest joy and satisfaction the secret articles at Vienna, directed to this purpose. It was impossible for Ripperda to avoid

Digitized by Google

acting in conformity with these articles without entirely forfeiting their good graces.

He was importuned too by the clamours of the clergy, who began to suggest doubts of the sincerity of his conversion, and call him Christiano nuevo.

To these circumstances must be added the crowd of Irish Catholics that besieged the court, and intermitted none of the usual expedients of exiles,—busy intrigue, noisy solicitation, and confident promises.

Ripperda, soon after his elevation to the ministry, had received letters of compliment from the Pretender, putting him in mind of what he had promised the Duke of Wharton, and expressing the most sanguine persuasion he would, without loss of time, put these promises in execution.

The Duke himself did not fail to follow him from Vienna. He at first appeared at Madrid under a feigned name, calling himself Mr. Phillibert: but he did not long remain thus disguised. He assumed the title of Duke of Northumberland, conferred upon him by the Pretender; and was, in great

Digitized by Google

great ceremony, installed with the order of the Garter.

He renewed his conferences with the minister; and some feeble movements manifested the subject of these conferences.

A body of twelve thousand men was drawn to the coast of Biscay and Gallicia. Orders were sent to Cadiz, to fit out privateers; and agents of the Pretender were allowed to purchase a quantity of arms, which they deposited there;—others, at the same time, were busy in engaging all the officers, out of employment at Madrid, in his service.

Colonel Stanhope could not overlook these indications. Ripperda, when applied to, protested with vehemence he knew nothing of Wharton's having left Vienna, till he had actually arrived at Madrid. The King and Queen were as ignorant as himself; but on the least appearance of his acting for the Pretender, he would send him out of the capital in twenty-four hours. To account for the marching of the troops to the coast, he supposed, without the least foundation, a correspondence from

Digitized by Google

the Spanish ambassador in London, transmitting intelligence of extensive preparations in England for a descent upon Spain, and an attempt to burn the vessels in the ports. With respect to the arms collected in Cadiz, he professed entire ignorance concerning them.

"Well then (answered Stanhope) I may suppose they are arms belonging to private persons unconnected with government."—Ripperda, after what he had just uttered, could not venture to contradict him.

Stanhope had information where they had been left in pledge, for a certain sum which had been wanting, in the penury of the Pretender's exchequer. He paid the sum for which they were security, and what was demanded over and above; and had them sent off to England.

The English ambassador, putting on the appearance of believing what he knew to be false, drew from the dissimulation he deemed it expedient to practise, the means of serving his sovereign. But the entanglements and perplexities which ensued from the arrival of Count Kænigsegg, ambassador

Digitized by Google

bassador from the Emperor, were enough to have driven a calmer head than Ripperda's to madness and despair.

The Count arrived in the beginning of January, 1726. He took up his residence at first in a quinta or country-house near Madrid, belonging to Count Aguilar; where he was confined a short time by a fit of the gout. As soon as he was well, he proceeded to the palace of the Pardo, where the court then was.

The Queen, who was prepossessed with the notion that he came finally to settle the marriage of her son, thought no demonstration of joy or mark of distinction too much for a minister coming for such a purpose.

The day he first appeared at court, every one was in the dress worn on great solemnities. He dined that day with the Duke of Ripperda. The Duke, who was but too sensible of what he had to expect from the ambassador, whose heart was burning with vexation, and who had to put on the appearance of satisfaction and joy, acted his part but indifferently. It was easy to remark the

Digitized by Google

the torture which his features underwent, —the force which brought up smiles on his melancholy face.

The count set out like a man to whom every thing was to yield; who was to be soothed and gratified by every sacrifice. The populace of Madrid was enraged to see, along with the imperial arms, those of Spain set up over his door, by which it appeared the Emperor's minister carried the pretensions of his master to the very residence of the King, with whom he had contracted engagements of league and amity.

Another attempt must, if successful, have, it should seem, entirely obstructed the passage of the streets. He got six mules harnessed to his carriage;—a distinction peculiar to the royal family. Immediately, all the foreign ministers imitated his example. Such a crowd of mules would, no doubt, have been insufferable.—One of the secretaries of state was directed to inform the Count, with all politeness and deference, of the custom of the country; hoping he would have the goodness to conform himself to it.

This

Digitized by Google

This insolence of the Count was inspired by his knowledge of the delusion under which the Queen laboured, and the tenacious infatuation with which she clung to it.

He was not sparing of the grossest falsehoods to preserve her in it. The Archduchess was on the point of setting out, and nothing but the apprehended resentment of her many disappointed suitors prevented her departure, and prolonged the mystery which still hung over it. He twisted the story with such a variety of imaginary circumstances, that he persuaded the Queen, much as she wished for the arrival of the Princess, to approve of the caution and foresight of the Emperor her father.

But he intended the error he so successfully maintained, should be a copious source of treasure, and as he was aware time, if nothing else, would dissipate it, he was earnest to make it as productive as possible while it lasted.

He pursued Ripperda like his evil genius. —The money he had promised at Vienna, he rigorously exacted, and would listen to no

Digitized by Google

no plea or evasion. Ripperda, assailed by the clamours of a people groaning under the weight of taxes, and conscious that all the money sent to the Emperor, was so much money thrown away, did all he could to elude the demands of the ambassador, or at least gain time in hopes something would start up, to deliver him from his embarrassment.

But as much as he was interested in gaining time, the ambassador felt it was of importance to allow him none. The possibility of the circumstances to which he looked forward, goaded on the vehemence and impatience of the ambassador; the latter considered he had in his hands a pregnant, but fugitive opportunity,—and to screw it to the utmost, was his object.

In vain Ripperda entered into pathetic representations of the misery of the people, and the pressing exactions they were already subject to. The ambassador had no bowels of compassion; he undertook to become Ripperda's assistant in his financial operations, minutely explored the system of taxation, suggested such a branch was not

Digitized by Google

not pushed far enough; such branches might be added; and gravely claimed praise for the fertility of his fiscal invention. As little could he be induced to wait for the arrival of the flota and galleons, which were expected for the end of June.

The rashness and fanaticism of the Spanish councils, might precipitate a war with England, and then the American treasures might be intercepted; besides, a thousand unforeseen events might arise, to remove the blindness of the Queen before June. Relying on this blindness, he ventured to represent to her, that it was merely from his eagerness to gratify her, the Emperor had occasion for the money demanded, which indeed would never be adequate to the expences which, from this motive, he must incur. He must fortify his dominions, augment his troops, and make a number of military arrangements; why? with a view to the combination that might take place between England and France, and among the Princes of Germany, when it was seen his eldest daughter married the Spanish Prince. For the same reason, it

Digitized by Google

became necessary to give the most formidable weight to the confederacy of Vienna, and enable it to surmount that of Hanover. This was to be done only by money; which would determine the conduct of the Northern States.

If the most flagrant contempt of truth and unfeeling disregard for the sufferings of a nation, were a proof of diplomatic abilities; there never was an abler man in a diplomatic employment, than Count Kænigsegg.

Ripperda, aware that he had the means of destroying him in his power, turned himself every way to satisfy him. He accumulated burthens upon burthens, on the people; he exacted sums from all who had been concerned in the farming of the revenue, or had had employments in the Indies. He carried the severest scrutiny into all parts of the expenditure; he suppressed pensions and places; he discarded crowds of clerks from all the public offices; he put a stop to all payments whatsoever; finally, he had recourse to the expedient commonly practised by governments in the last

Digitized by Google

last degree of distress,—raising the denomination of the coin, that is, endeavouring to persuade mankind to consider a less quantity of the precious metals of equal value with a greater.

All these methods to procure money for the Emperor, were felt with the bitterest resentment and indignation by the Spaniards. They had not the slender consolation, which has at other times been afforded to suffering nations; the money thus wrung from them, was not employed in schemes which promised at least some real or supposed advantage; some accession of territory, or some increase of national honour and reputation;—they were tortured for no other purpose, than to protract a delusion as insulting to their government, as grievous to themselves.

The dead uniformity of a despotic government allowed little relief, but the scattered murmurs of individuals. There were no great constitutional channels open, through which the feelings of the people could ascend to the ear of the sovereign. Yet there was a tribunal which, from its rank

Digitized by Google

rank at the head of the administration of justice, felt itself authorized to remonstrate against some of the measures of the minister; this was the council of Castille. The raising the denomination of the coin, was the subject of representations, which however produced no immediate effect.

No sooner had Ripperda been raised to power, than he meditated a variety of reforms. He indulged himself in unbounded censures, upon all the ministers who had preceded him; rank abuses prevailed in every part of the government; all were to be eradicated; every thing was to be set on a new foundation.

The representations of the council of Castille, added the motive of revenge to his desire of appearing in the character of a reformer. Suits lingered in this as well as other tribunals of justice in Spain, nor was, perhaps, the integrity of its decisions perfectly unimpeachable. Ripperda thought at once of punishing the council, and gratifying the people, by the publication of two decrees, one calling upon every one who felt himself aggrieved in any matter of

Digitized by Google

of law or justice, by the proceedings of any tribunal, to lay his complaints immediately before the King, through the channel of his minister, with a promise of impartial and immediate redress. The other, for abridging suits, and protecting suiters from vexatious delays, directed, that an account of all suits depending before the tribunals should be drawn up for the inspection of the government, and that at the end of every month, a regular return should be made, of those which were terminated, and of the progress which had taken place in such as remained to be determined.

This supposed grievance of the dilatory proceedings of courts of justice, has been at all times a favourite topic with reformers, and a constant temptation to empyrical change.

Persons have not reflected, that it is impossible to obtain accuracy of investigation, much less certainty of decision, without the interposition of many circumstances, which necessarily produce delay. To exclude, as much as possible, the arbitrary in judges, and beget the inestimable advantage of a known

Digitized by Google

known rule, precedents are carefully preserved, which by their accumulation, and the reasonings of analogy they give rise to, transform what was originally mere good sense and natural equity, into something deriving from the same principles, and tending much more regularly to the same ends,—a body of artificial laws. Then every detected fraud and experienced inconvenience, leads to some new form, directed to guard against the one, and remedy the other, by which proceedings become complicated and slow.

Leave every thing to caprice, and take your chance for the obtaining of right, and delay is easily discarded.

A Turkish cadi shall decide a hundred causes, while a British judge is employed in the investigation of one.

Ripperda derived little advantage from his decrees. He neither soothed and conciliated the people, nor conferred any important benefit on the state.

The people were too sore from the weight of the burthens which crushed them, to be appeased by promises of redress, in matters wherein

Digitized by Google

wherein multitudes were nowise concerned. They perceived his motive in promulgating the decrees, and were only more attached to the council which had excited his resentment. He found complaints pour in so fast upon him, that, unable to attend to them all, he attended to few or none.

All that could be said of this scheme is, that it did no mischief, and not much good; that it awakened little public gratitude, and no resentment. But it was accompanied with one, which was not so harmless to the projector. The people of Spain have no very decided inclination to commercial or manufacturing habits; they like to saunter in the public walks, and enjoy in indolence the warmth of their sky. Ripperda, from a vain ambition of compelling them to industry, caused a proclamation to be issued against the saunterers, and employed methods of violence to drive them from their usual places of resort. There is nothing which a people can bear less, than to be disturbed in their private amusements, and indulgencies. This last severity, added to the many grievances they already sustained, inflamed

Digitized by Google

inflamed their hatred to the most violent degree. They could scarcely repress the impatience which tormented them to see the fall of the obnoxious minister.

So odious had he become, that he extorted no praise, by the only one of his measures which seems to have been reasonably directed to the public good.

The alguaziles, or inferior ministers of justice, were without any fixed salary; and in reality received little or nothing from the government. The consequence was, as might be expected, they took bribes on all sides, and spared no means of corruption or oppression to support themselves.

A decree was published against this abuse, which had it been executed, would have put an end to it.

It forbade the officers to take perquisites, or avail themselves of any indirect emoluments, and promised them a regular salary to be regularly paid in lieu of them.

Ripperda, distracted as he was, having every day to swallow new draughts of bitterness, hated by all classes of people in Spain, universally regarded either as a madman

Digitized by Google

madman or impostor, or both, exerted himself however to put on an appearance of confidence, and conceal the misery of his situation.—"I have (said he) six friends on whose protection I implicitly rely, and who will rescue me from all the efforts of my enemies;—GOD, the blessed Virgin, the Emperor, the Empress, and their Catholic Majesties."

He received several letters of compliment and congratulation from the Emperor, in that Prince's own hand-writing; one so late as the 9th of March 1726, and soon after the imperial ambassador began to think of displacing him.

There can be little doubt, if he did not get the money he was perpetually demanding, it could not be imputed to the unfortunate Ripperda; though this last, in his loose idle manner of talking, unchecked by any regard for truth, told Colonel Stanhope, in the midst of all his embarrassments, that he was in no want of money, and that he gave out his being so, purely to oblige thereby the Emperor not to think upon entering on a war.

Digitized by Google

Certain it is, Kænigsegg, not receiving the supplies he looked for, determined on his ruin.

There was a conspiracy against him in another quarter.

A certain pious personage existed about the court, of the name of Don Domingo Valentin Guerra. To say the truth, Don Domingo was a prodigy of stupidity. The Queen having occasion for a confessor, Père D'Aubenton looked round for a man, whose very limited understanding seemed inaccessible to the temptations of ambition, and to shut him out from all the ways of intrigue and courtly solicitation. D'Aubenton did not calculate with his usual sagacity. Extreme dullness is not a corrective for presumption. Don Domingo, fool as he was, had a good deal of cunning, and that sort of creeping desire of advancing himself, which is often the companion of consummate folly. He trembled however before the character of D'Aubenton, and, as long as the imperious Jesuit lived, did not venture to sneak out of his obscurity. But, death having delivered him from

Digitized by Google

from this check, he too began to be ambitious. He had been lately created Archbishop of Amida *in partibus*, that is, was invested with the episcopal character, without jurisdiction or trouble annexed to it. If Domingo had trembled before Père D'Aubenton, he trembled much before his penitent the Queen. The bare thought of incurring her displeasure, produced the most whimsical agitation in his whole frame. An itching seized his legs, and he could not remain quiet in any place; so that his legs became a barometer to the courtiers, which they looked to for foul or fair weather at court.

As long as Ripperda appeared favoured by the Queen, Domingo would as soon have thought of turning Mahometan, as of giving him the least opposition, or joining in any intrigue against him. He had been the loudest in celebrating him as a miracle of statesmen. Not that the minister took any pains to conciliate him. He treated him on all occasions with the most marked contempt. But a soul like Domingo's was formed to be despised. Whatever

Digitized by Google

ever resentment he might feel, he stifled and carefully hid as long as Ripperda flourished in the sunshine of the royal favour.

Ripperda had early given an admonition to Father Bermudez, the King's confessor: —"Take care, Father, (said he) that you do any thing but give your penitent absolution." This admonition, which was intended for both the confessors, would at any other time have frightened Domingo out of his slender wits: but the dimmest sight could discover the cloud that was fast approaching to overwhelm the minister. The dissatisfaction of the imperial ambassador was no longer a secret; and it could not be doubted, that any thing he suggested to the Queen, would be readily executed by her;—so that Domingo was not afraid of shewing his enmity.

Among the courtiers who were particularly animated by animosity against the minister, were the Marquis de Castelart, and his brother Don Joseph Patino. The former had lost a considerable employment which the minister had taken possession of. Ripperda, aware of their dispositions, was anxious

Digitized by Google

anxious to send them to a distance. He had ordered the Marquis to go as ambassador to Venice, and had given Don Joseph a commission to Brussels. They deferred their departure, under various pretexts: but as he continued to press them, and as their pretexts were really at an end, they felt the necessity of immediately labouring to deprive him of power.

They had discovered that Don Domingo was his enemy. To him they applied. He, persuaded that he might now vilify the minister to the Queen without danger, listened to their representations. In the penury of his own ideas, he was glad to borrow some topics of discourse from them; and they willingly resigned to him whatever use he could make of their rhetoric, as long as he was instrumental in promoting their purposes. The first thing they obtained, was a counter-order, authorizing them to remain at Madrid; which had become very necessary, as Ripperda had manifested the greatest impatience at their stay; telling them, at one of his levees, that after the time they had employed in prepa-

Digitized by Google

preparations, they would certainly be able to set out in two or three days at most.

But the blow which struck him down, came from the ambassador. The first mark he received of displeasure, was one day when, entering the apartment where the King and Queen were reading a letter from the ambassador, pressing remittances, he ventured to represent to them the deplorable condition to which Spain was reduced.—"What is that to you?" exclaimed the Queen, with an angry frown.

On the 12th of May, the department of the finances was taken from him. Colonel Stanhope, who saw him that night, found him "in the highest rage against the court of Vienna, and disposed to stick at nothing, to be revenged *."

Irritated at a privation which would be construed as a forerunner of his fall,—intoxicated with confidence in his own abilities, and the high reputation he conceived himself to have established,—and hoping, probably, that by threatening to withdraw

* This was precisely the measure of resentment he afterwards conceived against Spain.

himself

Digitized by Google

himself entirely, he would regain the ascendancy he had lost, he petitioned to be dismissed from all his employments. This request was not immediately granted: but at eleven o'clock at night of the 14th, a quarter of an hour after he had left the apartment where he had been transacting business with the King and Queen, he received a letter from the Marquis de la Paz; informing him that his functions as minister had ceased; that, however, he was to receive a pension of three thousand pistoles in consideration of his services.

The news of his disgrace did not get abroad in Madrid till the next morning; when all classes testified the highest pleasure, and the populace abandoned themselves to riotous joy and triumph. They insulted some of his servants; and menaces reached his ear, that in the night they would attack his house in order to tear him in pieces. A panic immediately seized him, and he anxiously looked round for a place of refuge. He sent to the Dutch ambassador, desiring to see him; and requested he would allow him to take shelter in his house.

Digitized by Google

house. The ambassador excused himself, alleging several reasons; but pointed out the house of the English ambassador. It was agreed he should come in his carriage, as soon as it was dark and take him there*.

The

* The Spanish author has framed a very refined scheme of policy, which he attributes to the ambassadors.—"They calculated, he says, that Ripperda, no longer shackled by his employments at court, and the embarrassments of political business, would bestow his undivided attention on the promotion of the manufactures he had established; from which, considerable detriment would ensue to the commerce of their respective countries. They therefore laid a plan to ruin him irretrievably in the opinion of the King, and oblige him ultimately to leave the kingdom. The absence of the English ambassador was pre-concerted. The Dutch ambassador went on purpose to him, and taking advantage of his fears, artfully brought him to the resolution he adopted; which answered all their purposes." The whole of this elaborate supposition is overturned by the narrative of l'Abbé Montgon, and Colonel Stanhope's correspondence with his own government. His conduct, as described, would have been perfectly allowable, if not praise-worthy, in a person in his situation. He could have no motive to conceal it from his court,—nay, to advance directly the contrary of the fact.

Foreigners

Digitized by Google

The English ambassador had gone the day before to Avanjuez, with an intention of remaining there a couple of days for the sake of his health. He had been at the palace in the morning, to take leave of Ripperda; and, from the air of his countenance, and his absence of mind in the conversation he had with him, he was led to conjecture something was impending over him. This day, he received an express, informing him of his dismissal; on which, he resolved to return immediately to Madrid; and arriving there about eleven at night, was extremely surprized to find in his apartment the Duke of Ripperda, and the ambassador of Holland.*

On the Duke's claiming his protection, before he would give any answer, he desired to be satisfied in two points:—whether he was still in the service of the King of Spain; whether he was to be regarded as the ob-

Foreigners are very apt to speculate in this manner on the conduct of Englishmen. They fancy us much more cunning than we really are.

* I have related the transaction in Col. Stanhope's own words, in his letter to the Duke of Newcastle.

ject

Digitized by Google

ject of any accusation, or under the King's displeasure.

The Duke produced the letter of the Marquis de la Paz, at once announcing the loss of his employments, and specifying the pension intended for him.

At the time this letter was written, it was not the intention of the court to proceed with severity; but the Emperor's ambassador inflamed the resentment against him. He heard, with emotions of rage, that he had attempted to escape from his power. He insisted that he should be taken by force out of his place of refuge. He afterwards repented of this step, as such an act of violence might draw on an immediate rupture with England, which might disappoint him of the treasures he expected:—but the resolution was formed. The council of Castille was consulted, for form's sake; and on the morning of the 25th, at six o'clock, a party of sixty horse, headed by an alcal de corte (or judge) and a general officer, appeared before the house of the English ambassador. The ambassador protested: but no attention was paid to his protest.

The

Digitized by Google

The Duke was not out of bed. He was allowed only time to put on his night-gown; and he was no sooner down stairs than a coach, which was ready for the purpose, received him and the officers, and rolled off, under the escort, along the banks of the Mançanarez*. It took the road of Segovia; and arriving there, the Duke was delivered in custody to the Alcayde, or governor of the castle. His papers had been seized; and only a single servant allowed to follow him.

The castle, or alcazar, of Segovia, is an edifice of extreme antiquity. It was the palace of the gothic kings of Spain, and the favourite residence of Ferdinand and Isabella: but since their time it had been converted into a state-prison, where likewise were confined a number of Barbary corsairs who had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards. It stands upon a craggy rock, washed by the waters of the river Erema†. In

* Gilblas performed the same journey before him.

† There is a view of this castle, in the plates annexed to Bourgoing's Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne; which would not lead the observer to suppose an escape from it so easy as Ripperda found it.

one

Digitized by Google

one of the towers of this castle was Ripperda lodged. The confinement of this prison, at no time very strict*, was not rendered particularly so to him.

The Alcayde was a man who had seen the world; he had served in different countries, and his experience had furnished him with much amusing conversation. He was very attentive, and even obsequious, to his prisoner; as in the whimsical revolutions which the court was constantly exhibiting, he did not know but he might be again his master. He was married to an agreeable woman; and many persons from Segovia visited at the castle. Two regidores, or magistrates of the town, were often there; men distinguished by their education and the employment which they filled.

A man of a different temper of mind and habits of life from Ripperda, would have been tolerably amused in this little circle; but it had no charms for him. His fall from power, and the unequivocal signs of

* Read the imprisonment of Gilblas.

popular

Digitized by Google

popular detestation he beheld on every side, overcame all his fortitude, and showed him a spectacle of womanish emotion and pusillanimity. While at the house of Colonel Stanhope, his lips overran with every thing he knew, and many things he did not know. He betrayed all the secrets of the treaty of Vienna, "the whole time in the greatest agonies, and frequently bursting into tears*." This feverish sensibility was succeeded by violent transports. Seeing himself immured in a prison, he would imprecate curses on the Spanish nation, and vent himself in incoherent menaces of vengeance. To spread blood and desolation throughout the kingdom, was rapture to his thoughts. What spectacle so gratifying to him, as Madrid in flames! To fasten a foreign yoke on the necks of an ungrateful people, would be to him more pleasure than he had tasted during his past life.

Then all his political speculations and theories crowded on his heated brain. He

* The words of Benjamin Keene.

new-

Digitized by Google

new-modelled the state of Europe, taking away from *this* prince and giving to *another*. Religion had its turn: *now* he was a zealous Catholic, and argued with vehemence against the Protestants; *then* changing sides, he abused the church of Rome. Such is solitude to hurried undisciplined minds!

His solitude was not without considerable alleviation, as has been mentioned. The King allowed him a hundred dubloons a months for his table; an indulgent governor was assiduous in providing him with every comfort in his power: but he was quiet*; and that was intolerable to him. He caught with avidity at all the news he could gather from the political world. He heard with the liveliest sensations of pleasure, that a British squadron was off the coast of Spain. He was not without hopes, that the court of London would demand his enlargement, as a circumstance of reparation for the violence

* Yet the Spanish author would persuade us, that it was in order to seek this quiet he went afterwards to Barbary.

offered

Digitized by Google

offered the house of the ambassador: but his hopes grew fainter every day, and at length vanished.

The treaties of Vienna and Hanover had indeed converted Europe into a scene of negociation and cabal, interrupted occasionally by warlike movements. The Spanish court had hoped that the alliance between England and France, which was the foundation of the latter, would give way to other sentiments.—The Duke of Bourbon, by whose partiality it was supposed to be supported, was removed from the ministry; and Fleury succeeded him.

To him, the pious looked for the breaking off of all engagements with heretics: but he had been won by the discernment and address of Horace Walpole, English ambassador at Paris.

During the nominal ministry of the Duke of Bourbon, Walpole was not blind to the source from which power emanated. He saw the meek and humble Fleury artfully establishing an absolute ascendant over the mind of his pupil the young King; and he had no doubt that it was he who would de-

Digitized by Google

termine the conduct of the French government. To him therefore he sedulously paid court. Whatever he observed displeasing to him, he shunned even with affectation. The mistresses and creatures of the Duke could obtain from him no mark of homage. On one occasion, Fleury having, in a fit of political sullenness, withdrawn from court, Walpole went after him, and took this opportunity of showing him extraordinary attention.

Fleury become prime minister, remembered this attention of Walpole; and when reproached with yielding too much to his influence, would answer with a smile: "Do you know what Horace Walpole did for me?" and then related the circumstances that passed.

He was attached to him with more than the usual warmth of politicians: and the union with England, instead of losing ground, became stronger and closer.

The court of Spain were exasperated at their disappointment. The Queen called Fleury a coward, and said he was the slave of that heretic, Horace Walpole.—All her representations

Digitized by Google

representations were ineffectual, though conveyed through the channel of the Pope's nuncio, and her partizans at the French court bestirred themselves to no purpose. Not even the orthodox cause of the Pretender could move a Cardinal. The Cardinal thwarted, instead of encouraging, his designs.

It might be supposed all the devout part of the French court would be against him: but here he displayed consummate art. Something so cajoling, —such an air of meekness and benignity softened his manners and deportment. He seemed so humble and disinterested; in every step he made to the height of power, he advanced with such reluctance,—he yielded to the importunities of his friends,—he submitted to the burthen of government, solely for the public good, no idea of self-gratification entered his mind. A simplicity so truly evangelic, coloured these appearances, he had what, in the language of mysticism, is called such an unction, that all the pious were edified and delighted. The whispers of devotion, the murmurs of zeal, conspired

Digitized by Google

for the good Cardinal. The tribe of female zealots befriended him with their usual warmth; during the whole of his sly and oblique progress, they cheered him in his difficulties, sympathized in his mortifications, and exulted in his triumph.

But if France and England remained stedfast to the treaty of Hanover, the other contracting party, Prussia, was not thought equally so. None of the German princes were disposed to draw down upon themselves the resentment of the Emperor.

The states of Italy observed the cautious policy of the feeble. They were jealous and apprehensive of the court of Vienna, but were in no haste to declare themselves. Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, maintained his character of a most refined and wavering politician.

The procrastinating forms of the Dutch government still impeded and embarrassed its ultimate decision: but the Dutch were too much interested against the company of Ostend, favoured and encouraged by the treaty of Vienna, to create a doubt as to the part they would settle upon.

The

Digitized by Google

The determination of the powers of the North appeared a matter of great moment to both sides.

The Czar Peter was dead. His widow and successor Catharine was led by family considerations to espouse the cause of the allies of Vienna. Her daughter was married to the Duke of Holstein, nephew to Charles XII. of Sweden, by his eldest sister. In the misfortunes of that prince, the reigning duke's father had been despoiled of the duchy of Sleswick, and the duchy annexed to Denmark, under the guarantee of England. Denmark, which looked to the assistance of England for retaining this possession, corresponded to her views, and cultivated her alliance. The King of Sweden, who, on the death of Charles, had been preferred to the crown, though the son of that monarch's younger sister, was uneasy at the claims of the Duke of Holstein, in whom vested the rights of hereditary succession: but the same transaction which made him king, disabled him from consulting only his inclinations.

The people of Sweden suffered so grievously from the despotism of their hero

Digitized by Google

Charles, that, at his death, they took measures to prevent the return of the like evils. They began by setting aside the Duke of Holstein, and declaring the crown elective, placed it on the head of the reigning king. At the same time they established a senate, to be a perpetual check on his authority; and both were to be controlled by a national diet. All acts of the government depended on these assemblies; and they were immediately assailed by the arts of foreign intrigue, and the temptations of foreign corruption. It fared with the new constitution of Sweden, as it must do with every constitution to which the characters and habits of the people are not made by time and circumstances. The grave name and important powers of Senators were bestowed upon men who were nowise qualified to support the *one* by a virtuous use of the *other*.—Already the liberality of England had disposed them to accede to her measures; when a squadron, under the command of Sir Charles Wager, appeared in the Baltic. Three squadrons sailed out at the same time from the English ports;—one under

Digitized by Google

under Sir John Jennings, carried terror along the whole extent of the Spanish coasts; another commanded by Admiral Hosier, was dispatched to the West Indies; and the third, under Sir Charles, came in aid of the negociations that were going on in the North. In this extraordinary exertion, were displayed the promptitude and resources of a free and wealthy nation. The Czarina had begun to assemble forces in the neighbourhood of Petersburgh, and had set on foot preparations for a formidable naval expedition. She was deeply engaged in the projects of the Pretender. A Sir Henry Stirling, agent to the Pretender, resided in her capital, and was busy in purchasing arms and forwarding arrangements for the invasion of Scotland. Her ships had been employed in transporting arms, with a view to this invasion. The Pretender himself was to have embarked at Archangel, to avoid the inconveniencies of passing the Sound. All these movements were in concert with Spain and the Emperor. Spain supplied large sums, and advanced

Digitized by Google

advanced a body of troops to the coast of Galicia. The Emperor at the same time was to have troops in readiness at Ostend.

On the summons of Sir Charles Wager, Russia was compelled to give up her naval preparations; and the whole of this extensive scheme in favour of the Pretender, fell to the ground. The King of Denmark had declared himself. The Danish fleet joined the British admiral. The King of Sweden too was encouraged to manifest his favourable dispositions; and the effect of money on the new and ill-compacted forms of the Swedish government was powerfully accelerated. Sir Charles completely fulfilled his mission.

The hopes of Ripperda, which these events inevitably sunk and had a tendency to destroy, were however a little revived and reanimated by what happened in the year 1727.

The King of England met his parliament in January of this year. In his speech from the throne, he affirmed the existence of a secret treaty between the courts of Vienna

Digitized by Google

Vienna and Madrid, and specified the leading articles,—the recovery of Gibraltar, and the re-establishment of the Pretender.

Monsieur Palm, Imperial resident in London, had the assurance to publish a memorial, in which he flatly contradicted the King's declarations.—This piece of insolence roused all the generous and loyal feelings of a British parliament.

Sir Robert Walpole moved an address, "expressing the high resentment at the affront and indignity offered to his most sacred Majesty by the memorial of Mons. Palm, and at his insolence in printing and dispersing the same throughout the kingdom; declaring their utmost abborrence of this audacious manner of appealing to the people against his Majesty.

This address was warmly supported by all the members who commonly voted in opposition to the court; Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pultney, Mr. Shippen; and carried unanimously. How different a British parliament, from the assemblies which in other countries have been termed popular! Whatever contests have arisen in its bosom, they

Digitized by Google

they have always been carried on with the spirit and feelings of Britons! Its doors have been ever shut to foreign influence and corruption. Such has been the result of that curious and happy composition which presumptuous empyricism has loudly railed at, but on which experience has impressed its seal.

Monsieur Palm, was ordered forthwith to quit the kingdom.

While this was passing in London, the Spaniards had opened the trenches before Gibraltar. The designs of the two courts, which had been long ripening in the silence and gloom of the cabinet, seemed approaching to a complete developement. But neither was much in earnest.

The Emperor, aware that the English would intercept the gallions, and that the source of supplies would thereby be stopped, thought it time to put an end to the comedy with which he had amused the simplicity of Madrid; and concluded a separate accommodation.

The court of Madrid, opening at length its eyes to the ridiculous figure it had made in

Digitized by Google

in Europe, was not so inconsiderate as to persevere in hostilities without any hope of support. Preliminary articles were signed, and a congress appointed to meet at Soissons to adjust all unsettled points of difference.

George the First, from whom Ripperda expected zeal and vigour in these differences, died in June, while on a visit to his German dominions.

Having now no hopes of deliverance from abroad, he looked round him for the means of escape, on which he was obstinately bent. He was not so closely watched, as not to have opportunities of discourse with the soldiers who were placed to guard him. One of them, talking to him as he came in with his dinner, had offered to assist him in his flight: but, as at that time he looked to the movements in Europe for the recovery of his liberty, he had not thought proper to close with the offer.

The marvellous, which characterized the whole of his life, attended him in his confinement. At a subsequent period, but before his hopes were quite extinguished, a youth of a lively fancy and bold stirring disposition,

Digitized by Google

position *, of the name of Geronimo Enriquez, who was serving as page at Madrid, left his employment, and entered the service of the alcayde of the castle, with a view of being instrumental in his deliverance. He let pass this opportunity likewise; and he could scarcely expect that fortune would send him another; when the most singular of any presented itself.

This part of his history is differently related.—Perhaps the account which follows, resting on so romantic a groundwork, may have been dressed out for the sake of romantic effect.

Among the persons who visited the alcayde's wife, was a young lady of a good family †, native of Tordesillas, but residing in Segovia. Her name was Dona Josepha Fausta Martina Ramos. She was of an agreeable person and ardent voluptuous complexion. She had given much of her time to reading, and had not a little inflamed her imagination, sufficiently apt

* Mozo de gran resolution y de mayor traversura.

† Ripperda's words in his letter to his Dutch correspondent, Mr. Troyes.

to

Digitized by Google

to kindle, by the perusal of romances, and those parts of antient history which, from an air of undefined grandeur, shed over the events recorded and the personages that make a figure in them, have nearly the effect of romances upon us. In her visits, she became acquainted with Ripperda; and, though he was past the bloom and vigour of manhood *, she saw something about him, connected with the events of his life, which riveted her fancy. In the laxness of confinement which prevailed at the castle, she had no difficulty in obtaining secret interviews with him, and was soon wholly abandoned to his wishes. He intimated how glad he would be to escape from his prison.—"Why indeed, (said she) a departure from this place is equally desirable for me, as I am four months advanced in pregnancy." They began to consult upon the means of accomplishing their project; and it was resolved to concert the matter with his servant.

* He was so certainly, according to the account of l'Abbé Montgon. Montgon could not be mistaken as to his appearance at least.

This

Digitized by Google

This servant was a Frenchman, a pleasant alert fellow, who had followed him from Holland. He had often been employed in his amours, and never scrupled at any thing to serve his master. By his means, the corporal who had the inspection of Ripperda's apartment, and the adjoining parts of the castle, was gained over; and thus a principal difficulty surmounted. The time fixed, was a moon-light night in September, the eve of a bull-feast, which would draw multitudes of people to the town, and give them an opportunity of proceeding unsuspected. Very seasonably for their purpose, the alcayde and his wife were both confined to their chamber by illness. But on account of the infirmities of Ripperda, and the gout with which he was grievously afflicted, it was impossible for him to travel in any other manner than in a chaise, and that with no great expedition. If a pursuit should be immediately commenced against him, he must inevitably fall into the hands of his pursuers. With some difficulty, by promises and by earnest assurances that he would incur no serious danger,

Digitized by Google

danger, he persuaded his servant to remain behind him, and instructed him how to act. He was to pretend his master could not leave his bed, and receive his victuals as if for him, which he was to eat himself. If any one asked to see his master, he was to say that he was fast asleep. By this contrivance, Ripperda promised himself several days would elapse before his flight was discovered.

Horses were engaged, which were to wait for him in a concealed place, at a short distance from the castle. He was to ride to a village called Carboneros, four leagues from Segovia, where there was an obscure Inn, and remain there till he was joined by Dona Josepha and the corporal.

Dona Josepha, was so full of the strange passion she had conceived for him, that she would be with him on the night of his escape, to lend him her assistance. That done, she and the corporal were to hire a carriage in which they were to drive to Carboneros, and to take up Ripperda. The corporal had obtained a furlough to go and see his family.

Every

Digitized by Google

Every thing being settled, Dona Josepha got into the castle disguised in boy's clothes, and by favour of the corporal found means to introduce herself into a little flower-garden, which was under the windows of Ripperda's apartment, and divided from the road only by a high wall. There she lay hid till the hour appointed, which was ten at night.

The servant had procured a ladder of ropes. As soon as it struck ten, Ripperda cautiously descended into the garden. The gardiner's ladder applied to the wall enabled him to get to the top, and the ladder of ropes conveyed him to the other side, his fair companion all the time supporting his infirm steps.

He mounted the horse that was waiting for him, and, accompanied by a guide that had been engaged and had the care of the horses, rode off for Carboneros. They had not gone far when they fell in with the patrole, that went its nightly rounds near the castle. "Who goes there?" was cried out to them; "we are strangers who, to avoid the heat of the sun, travel by night; can-

you

Digitized by Google

you direct us the shortest way to Carboneros?" The patrole gave them every direction, and wishing them a good night, proceeded in its round.

The day was just dawning, when Ripperda and the guide arrived at Carboneros. He remained there two whole days, chusing rather to run the risk of being taken, than disappoint the woman who had sacrificed so much for him.

She took leave of her friends at Segovia, saying, she was going on a visit to Valladolid, and privately meeting the corporal, she along with him hired a chaise to carry them to Valladolid; but when they got to Carboneros, where they took up Ripperda, they told the driver, that this unexpected meeting had changed the plan of their journey, and that he must proceed to the frontier of Portugal.

The fellow was not very willing to obey; but rather than forfeit his hire, he prepared himself to do so: but, when the travellers ordered him to strike off the high road and avoid the great towns, he looked upon them as very suspicious persons and would have

Digitized by Google

nothing more to do with them. Upon which the corporal produced a pistol, and threatened to shoot him on the spot, if he did not perform what he was desired.

As soon as Ripperda saw Dona Josepha at Carboneros, he loaded her with caresses, and called her his sister. It was agreed they should preserve this character during the journey. They two got into the chaise, and the corporal rode behind on a horse he had hired for the purpose. They proceeded along rugged unfrequented roads, which were often near shivering the chaise in pieces, stopping only at cottages and obscure villages.

They were first informed they were in Portugal by the change of language. The first town in this kingdom they stopped at, was Miranda de Duero.

Here the driver, exasperated at the trick which had been practised upon him, and the menace which had overcome his reluctance, went to the alcayde or chief magistrate of the place, and lodged his complaint. The corporal was summoned to appear before him, but getting his cue

from

Digitized by Google

from Ripperda, no sooner was he in the presence of the magistrate, than going up to him and addressing him in a mysterious whisper; "Take care, (said he,) what you are about. My master is here upon an important and secret affair of state, which is the reason he left Spain with so much privacy. He is no less a man than Don Antonio de Mendoza, nephew to Don Diego de Mendoza Corte Real, secretary of state to his Portuguese majesty."

Ripperda had read in the papers, that such a person was shortly expected that way, and readily assumed his name.

The magistrate, astonished at what the corporal had told him, knew not how to make sufficient reparation for his mistake. He was on the point of sending the driver to jail; "Never mind that fellow, (said the corporal,) but go immediately and see and get horses, and a convenient vehicle for his excellency. Be sure you do not say a word to any one, of a stranger's passing this way."

The horses and chaise were soon at the door, and Ripperda continued his journey

Digitized by Google

to Oporto under the name of Don Antonio, receiving every where the most prompt obedience and obsequious attention. At Oporto he embarked for England, accompanied by his paramour and the corporal. The vessel was forced by contrary winds into Corke, but in the beginning of October, he landed at Comb-Martin in Devonshire, and passed a few days at Exeter.

Nine days passed at the castle of Segovia, without any suspicions of Ripperda's being missing, the servant obeying the directions he had received on parting with his master; but at the end of that time no sign appearing of Ripperda, the governor was induced to examine his apartment. Finding him gone, he had nothing left but to interrogate the servant; who answered shortly that he did not know where his master was; that he had been there, not to guard him, but to serve him.

The governor hastened to notify the circumstance to the court. It being ascertained that it was more than a week since he had escaped, there was no hope of overtaking him. A letter was written

to

Digitized by Google

to the foreign ministers, desiring he might be delivered up in case he took refuge in any of their masters' dominions. The servant experienced sufficient lenity; he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment: but it was not long before he obtained his liberty. He immediately set off, and joined his master in England.

As soon as Ripperda's flight was publicly known, various were the conjectures as to the road he had taken, and his ultimate destination. Some affirmed he had directed himself to a port in Biscay, and would take shipping for Brabant, where his eldest son, whom he had left at Vienna, then was; others sent him to Gibraltar.—These various and ill-founded conjectures are to be seen in the newspapers of the time.

When Ripperda left Exeter for London, he was met, on the western road, by the under-secretary of state, whom ministers had sent for that purpose; and a coach-and-four conveyed him to Eton; where he was privately lodged in an apartment belonging to Dr. Bland, head-master of Eton school.

Digitized by Google

Lord Townshend waited upon him, and applied himself to draw from him, by extraordinary marks of attention, the fullest and most accurate information respecting the secret articles of the treaty of Vienna. At first, he kept himself pretty much in retirement in London; but afterwards he took a handsome house in Soho-square, hired a villa with extensive gardens in the neighbourhood of town, and displayed his wealth in an expensive manner of living.

His wealth was considerable. He had large sums in the principal banks in Europe. He expected not to be idle in England, and to gratify his resentment against Spain. Peace was not established between the two countries. On the death of George the First, the adherents of the Pretender laboured to spread an opinion, that his successor would not ascend the throne without a considerable opposition. The King of Spain caught at this suggestion, and interposed delays in the accommodation with England. He relied on the intrigues carried on in his favour at the French court, and was in hopes of getting pos-

Digitized by Google

possession of Gibraltar while the negociation continued lingering. He again opened his ears to the court of Vienna, which thought itself interested to prevent a final arrangement. The result was, that the English and Spaniards persevered in hostilities against each other, and a small circumstance might carry the rupture to a confirmed warfare. While things remained in this state, Ripperda was listened to by ministers; letters passed between him and Sir Robert Walpole. He was busy in proposing plans and projects of attack upon Spain, though these met with a cold reception. He had acquired a tolerable knowledge of the English language, and began to indulge hopes of a considerable place in the ministry.

The forms of the English government afford liberal encouragement to talents and industry; but there is a circumstance in its constitution which shuts those by-paths of intrigue, and mere courtly accomplishments, which conduct men to greatness in other countries. The two houses of parliament may be said to be the sole avenues to power.

Digitized by Google

power. Up one of these avenues the political candidate must advance, and here no empyrical pretentions will abide the test. He must dispute every inch of ground with pertinacious rivals; he will be rigorously scrutinized and searched; he will be attacked;—he must defend himself. To be finally victorious, he must attack in his turn;—he will be answered. Not that a lively imagination and showy eloquence will carry away every honour. The variety of popular discussion affords room for every kind of talents. Slower but useful parts, substantial learning, mature prudence, will meet with their reward. Perhaps there are as many instances of the success of these unostentatious qualities as of the more brilliant and noisy triumphs.

The treaty of Seville, concluded in the latter end of 1729, crushed at once his vain speculations and robbed him of his transient importance. All differences being terminated with Spain, no information he could give was any longer of use, and he carried with him the bitterness of a visionary and neglected projector.

He

Digitized by Google

He amused himself by walking occasionally upon the Exchange, and mixing in the groupes of merchants. He speculated in the funds with success. He had recourse to gardening and country improvements; but private life had no objects on which his mind could fasten. The tame tranquillity of England was not at all suitable to him. He was resolved to embark for the Continent, where some scheme might offer itself in the complex multiplicity of its governments and principalities, and the restless fluctuation of its politics, which might fall in with his pantings for a situation of ambitious activity *.

He had come to this determination; when the authors of the Craftsman thought proper to insert a violent paragraph against him, in which he was called an "abandoned prostitute."

He conceived himself pointed to the

* The Spanish author, in his account of Ripperda's residence in England, displays a consummate ignorance of the government and manners of the country. With respect to the character and conduct of the subject of his history, he seems never to have caught the clue of them.

public

Digitized by Google

public contempt and indignation; and collecting the property he had in England, he no longer delayed his departure, but set sail for Holland in the year 1731, after having discharged the vehemence of his passions in curses, both against Spain and England. He embarked on board a vessel he had bought for the purpose; and he had some extraordinary design in his thoughts, as he directed the vessel to be in readiness to sail to any part of the world he might order.

His Segovian mistress had borne him a son, soon after her arrival in England, who was baptized in the Sardinian chapel by the name of John de Ripperda.

He arrived at the Hague in Nov. 1731. No sooner was he here, than he cast round an anxious look for some country where he might find employment adequate to his hopes. He first directed his eyes to the North of Europe; and Muscovy presented a spectacle which strongly provoked his wishes and ambition.

A woman was upon the throne of that mighty empire. An uncontrolled and unshackled

Digitized by Google

shackled despotism prevailed, which might exalt the meanest and overthrow the highest; but lately introduced in the number of civilized governments, it had not shaken off the features of Barbaric inconstancy and caprice. None of those forms, those usages, those plausibilities, had yet arisen from general knowledge and refinement which wind imperceptibly round a government, poise its movements, give a system to what is by its nature irregular, and prescribe an uniform march to arbitrary power. Here adventurers had risen with singular rapidity and been crowned with the most brilliant success. Ripperda framed an epistle for the Empress, in hopes of obtaining not only permission to go to her dominions, but something like an invitation. This he sent to the grand chancellor of the Empire, Count Osterman, to be delivered to the Empress. Count Osterman answered him in a cold and general manner, that the dominions of the Empress were open to every one who did not come with any circumstances of suspicion, and of course to him.

This

Digitized by Google

This indeed was a permission, but was by no means what he looked for. It confounded him in the crowd. It promised him no distinction. It encouraged no ambitious hope. He might live there, and that was all. So he might have lived in England; so he might almost any where else*. He was sinking into despondency, at the prospect of passing the remainder of his days in obscurity and tranquillity; when he formed an acquaintance with a man who pointed his views to another quarter of the world.

In the course of the piratical and preda-

* The Spanish author repeatedly affirms, that he was pursued in every country where he took refuge, by the applications of the Spanish ambassadors that he should be expelled, and even delivered up. It is very uncertain, whether the court of Madrid had any anxiety upon the subject. The little care and vigilance with which he was latterly guarded at Segovia, made it generally believed that it was with its connivance he escaped. But however that might be, whoever knows the government of England, knows, that no applications could infringe upon his security there. It was not the permission of the king which protected him, but the laws and constitution of the country.

tory

Digitized by Google

tory hostilities perpetually carried on by the Emperor of Morocco, a number of Dutch captives fell into his hands. He expected large sums for the ransom of these captives. With a view of converting them into as large a branch of revenue as possible, he sent one Perez to the Hague, whose mission was to conclude a truce, or peace; one of the conditions of which was a liberal ransom for the captives in his dominions.

This Perez was a descendant of a Spanish renegado. He called himself Admiral Perez, in Europe. He was in reality a Rice, or Captain of a ship.

He was advanced in years and had sufficiently experienced the vicissitudes of fortune; he had been captive three years in Portugal; he had been ambassador or envoy in England; he spoke very good Spanish and English intelligibly.

He formed an acquaintance with some of Ripperda's household; and learning from them the search which employed his thoughts, he thought if he could tempt him into his master's dominions, it would flatter

Digitized by Google

flatter the pride of the Emperor, and confer a lustre on his government, to have a discarded prime minister of Spain in his service.

He accordingly waited upon him, and showed him the northern shores of Africa inhabited by a warlike people, enemies to Europe, and particularly to Spain, who only wanted a statesman and a leader to execute some great enterprize.—"Where can the talents and bold spirit you possess, exert themselves in a manner more soothing to your feelings and agreeable to your wishes, or with a brighter prospect of making your name resound through the whole world? The Moors, the Algerines, the Tunisians, the Tripolitans;—join them in alliance; direct their forces into one combined plan of operation, and let ungrateful Spain tremble!"

These exhortations, and the views they opened, sunk into the mind of Ripperda. His Castilian paramour was inflamed at the glory which they promised. The spectacle of Barbaric manners and Barbaric achievements was powerfully calculated to work upon her imagination. She was impatient to

Digitized by Google

to be transported to those regions where the character of man kindled at the rays of the sun, and of which she had read so much in Spanish romances.

A particular circumstance at this time made her favour the scheme with extraordinary warmth. She had received intelligence that the Duchess of Ripperda intended coming in pursuit of her husband.

Pressed, therefore, by his own ambition and her encouragements, despairing of any suitable employment in any part of Europe, indulging too the spirit and disposition of an exile, by the vengeance he should inflict to make Spain repent of having discarded him, he closed with the offers of the Moorish ambassador, who stipulated that he should be received with every honour by the Emperor Muley Abdallah; and assured him he could soon be called to the highest dignities of the empire, and be entrusted with the guidance of all its forces.

Nothing but the most desperate ambition could tempt any man to put himself in the power of Muley Abdallah. He was son of Muley Ishmael, who died in 1727.

The

Digitized by Google

The inimitable pen of Addison has bestowed celebrity on Ishmael*.

An European can scarcely credit the cruelties these two princes were in the daily habits of committing. They frequently inflicted death with their own hands. No one approached them, from the highest to the lowest, without imminent danger of falling victim to their barbarity or wantonness. They would discharge loaded guns at their courtiers, or plant a spear in their bosoms without any motive but mere amusement.

The refugees from Europe did not in general find their condition in Barbary very agreeable. Besides the horrors of unlimited despotism which hung over them, in the same manner as on the rest of the people, they were the objects of general detestation, and entirely excluded from society. They were most of them atrocious criminals, polluted with blood, who fled from the vengeance of the laws†. Some of them,

* Read the whole Number 10. of the Freeholder. What is there said of Ishmael, is equally true of Abdallah.

† I believe the number of European refugees in Barbary, is at present very inconsiderable. In Morocco, they

Digitized by Google

them, however, who came recommended by talents or ingenuity, obtained distinction and were tolerably well rewarded.

A little before the arrival of Ripperda, one Carr, an Irishman, who had embraced the Mahometan religion, and was called by the Moors Alcaide Ally, or believer, resided at Mequinez, in a degree of wealth and comfort. He was employed in casting cannon for the service of the Emperor, and had an extensive foundery in the town. He had been a governor on the frontiers of Guinea, and had an employment of good profit. He had been much caressed by Muley Ishmael, who used to give him his clothes off his back.

Pilet, a Frenchman, commanded for a short time the naval force at Sallee.

Ripperda trusting to the rank he had filled in Europe, and to the name he brought along with him, as well as to the promises and assurances of Perez, expected to have none superior to him besides the

they are most of them Spaniards; in Algiers, Italians. While Mr. Falcon was in this last place, they were only between fifty and a hundred,—all renegadoes.

Digitized by Google

Emperor. Before his departure from Holland, he put all his pecuniary affairs under the management of a Mr. Troyes, a merchant in Amsterdam, with whom he had corresponded while in Spain. Some of his money he had remitted in bills of exchange to Barbary; the greater part of his fortune he left secured in Europe. Having completed these arrangements, he set sail from Amsterdam accompanied by Dona Josepha, his French servant, and a French cook he had hired to attend him. He arrived at Tangier in November 1732. He formed an acquaintance with many of the Jew merchants established there, and obtained from them lights respecting the country he was coming to reside in. He did not, however, remain long at Tangier, but with letters of introduction and recommendation from Perez, repaired to Mequinez, the residence of the Emperor. He met with a distinguished reception at his court as he had been promised, and began to prepare himself for the very unpleasant ceremony he had to undergo.

It

Digitized by Google

It was impossible for him to occupy any situation of dignity or power, indeed the most slender employment, without embracing the faith of Mahomet; and it was not only by uttering a few professions, as in other religions, that he would be deemed a convert, but pain was to be endured and some danger incurred.

When the founder of the Mahometan religion transferred this mark of conversion from the Jewish ritual to his own, he must have trusted a good deal to the descending resolution, and fanaticism of mankind, for many proselytes in succeeding times. As, however, Ripperda knew there was no other way of gratifying his ambition, he resolved to submit.

He hinted to his servant, who expected to follow him in his exploits and share in his fortunes; that as he too must go through the operation, it would not be amiss if the trial was made upon him, by which he should feel himself much encouraged. The poor fellow did not hesitate at this instance of complaisance. It was performed upon him with skill and dexterity, and he assured

Digitized by Google

sured his master, it was a mere trifle. But, when it came to the master's turn, he was not so fortunate. The operator either accidentally, or from a secret spite, made a slip with his knife, and the bleeding patient was carried home in a swoon. The Christians of Mequinez, put up devout prayers for a *judgement*; it did not please Heaven to gratify them. Ripperda in the end recovered, but was long confined to his house by the consequences of his wound, and we may suppose was not much edified with the first taste he had of his new religion. He would have found his sick-room intolerable, had it not been for frequent visits from a most pleasant original. This was the Rev. Father Bosset, a Frenchman, a renegado monk, who, since his change of religious creed, called himself Ali Den. He was a debauchee of unbounded conviviality and good humour. He had not long been a monk; when, the rules of monastic celibacy not at all agreeing with his constitution, he passed over to England and abjured the Catholic faith. Still straitened in the variety and comprehensiveness of his tastes

by

by any form of Christian establishment, he migrated to Barbary and became a Mahometan. His perpetual mirth and inexhaustible buffoonery, made him a favourite with Muley Abdallah. The stern ferocious tyrant relaxed into a smile at his sallies; he did not spare the religion he had adopted, any more than those he had forsaken. "These Mahometan priests hate me, (would he say,) they would gladly burn me alive; but the Emperor laughs;—protected by him, I am not afraid."

As soon as Ripperda was well enough for the business of active life, he was appointed to command the Moorish troops, and he took measures to expel the Spaniards from the few places they had left on the coast of Africa.

One of these, Ceuta, had undergone many years what was termed a blockade, though that name could not very properly be given to the kind of warfare the Moors maintained.

Four or five thousand men were drawn from the neighbouring country, and relieved every month. They received so little disturbance from the besieged, as to cultivate

Digitized by Google

gardens and have their regular sowings and harvest round their encampment. On the other hand, these were scarcely interrupted in their excursions.

Ripperda converted this irregular blockade into a regular siege. Some French Hugunot engineers were engaged to direct the operations. He himself headed the besieging troops: and, parties of the garrison sallying forth, some pretty sharp contests took place.

He had the misfortune to lose his French servant. Full of enterprize and wishing to distinguish himself, the unfortunate fellow had ventured to go into the town as a spy. He was discovered, and handed over to the Inquisition, who after a short process gave him a copious foretaste of the torments he had to expect in another world. His, indeed was a bad case; three times had he accompanied his master in a change of religion;—a Protestant in Holland, a Catholic in Spain, neither one nor the other in England, a Mussulman in Barbary.

Ripperda was convinced he could make little progress in this, or any other attempt with the Moorish troops, undisciplined and tumul-

Digitized by Google

tumultuary as they were. He was confirmed in this opinion, by a variety of little encounters he had with the Spaniards along the coast. On all these occasions, his friend the gallant Father Bosset, otherwise Ali Den, rode at the head of a party of horse, and behaved with the most distinguished intrepidity. He resolved, in prosecution of his projects of ambition and vengeance, to new-model the military establishment of Morocco; indeed, to give a new face and bearing to the whole empire. He considered himself in the situation of Peter the Great of Russia; destined to fetch order and power out of the confusion and feebleness of barbarism.

Whatever forces lie scattered in the irregular, ill cemented mass, which is denominated the empire of Morocco,—they are wielded by a single hand. The Emperor is armed with a despotism which no barrier checks, which no one circumstance qualifies or moderates. According to the waverings of his whim and caprice, he disposes of the lives and property of his subjects. No orderly array of manners stands before

Digitized by Google

before his throne. The highest of his ministers, his nod confounds with the meanest of his slaves. He raises or dashes to the ground, without any rule to direct him, or opinion which commands his respect. The grand treasurer shall be employed to catch his spittle, and a groom of his stables to negotiate a treaty. All fugitive phantoms representing him alone; to-day, a man shall be adored as prime minister; to-morrow be stripped to his shirt, and receive five hundred blows on his bare buttocks. The character and tendencies of such a government are impressed on every part of the circumference through which it extends. If they are discernible in the poverty and wretchedness of the people, they are equally so in the blood which stains the palace of the sovereign.

The benignity of nature is attested to the weary traveller, by the smiling harvests which wave around him in some parts; the orchards loaded with fruit; the gardens of delicious verdure and fragrance, which relieve his thirst and receive him in their friendly shades. But it is not long before he

Digitized by Google

he beholds the iron gripe of arbitrary power, in the immense tracts of desolation which extend before his aching sight. If ever the idea of independence obtrudes itself in his progress, it is in the persons of some fanatics and impostors who call themselves saints, and who have little principalities in the bosom of the empire. The great body of the inhabitants consists of Moors, properly so called. But on this dusky canvass arise various shades and distinctions. Multitudes of negroes were introduced by Muley Ishmael, who was himself the offspring of a negro mother. They were supposed to exceed the number of a hundred thousand.

Tribes of wandering Arabs are perpetually in motion. They pitch their tents wherever they are invited by the luxuriancy of vegetation. Having exhausted one spot, they migrate to another.

A few renegadoes and Christian slaves relieve the gloom of this sun-burnt population.

The power of an Emperor of Morocco has no limits, and neither his person nor

reign

Digitized by Google

reign any security. He is perpetually inflicting death, and in perpetual apprehensions of it. Scarcely is one rebellion suppressed, when another arises; never is his bosom entirely guarded against the dagger of a competitor. As the sceptre is not transmitted by any recognized rule of succession, no sooner has the Emperor expired, than all his sons* by his numerous wives and concubines commence a bloody contest. He who is supported by the largest and most determined party, obtains a temporary ascendant. The son by the deceased Emperor's favourite woman, has the advantage of arrangements made to open his way.

Muley Ishmael had brought the negroes to serve as a guard to the Prince upon the throne, and restrain his other subjects; but they soon grew mutinous, and while they oppressed the people, became formibable to the possessor of government.

They constituted the principal strength

* Muley Ishmael had no less than nine hundred sons, and three hundred daughters. A whole town was peopled with his offspring!

of

Digitized by Google

of the army, to which Ripperda first turned his attention. The remainder was made up of hasty levies from the provinces, irregularly armed with muskets and lances, or cross-bows, slings, and clubs, for the most part fighting on horseback.

Every Moor is a soldier, and bound to perform military service, when summoned into the field. The negroes were intended for a chosen band, to fight about the person of the Emperor. They were consecrated by the most tremendous ceremonies of superstition.

The only order of battle the Moors are acquainted with, is a crescent; in which whatever infantry they have, occupy the middle, and the horse execute their evolutions on the wings. In rushing upon the enemy, they set up the most hideous shouts.

While Ripperda was busy in his new capacity of general, and introducing a number of reforms political as well as military, he was informed of a decree in which the King of Spain deprived him of his Dukedom, and degraded him from the rank of Grandee. He heard at the same time of a considerable

Spanish

Digitized by Google

Spanish expedition, for the conquest of Oran. Oran belonged to the Algerines. It was now expedient to concert measures of defence with this power; and the scheme of uniting all the states of Barbary against Spain, strongly pressed upon his mind.

The Algerines, and the inhabitants of Tunis and Tripoli, that extend beyond them to the confines of Egypt, are of a political description quite different from the empire of Morocco. These four, beginning with Morocco, occupy in this order the whole line of coast, from the straights of Gibraltar to Egypt. Morocco turns down the angle, and stretches along the Atlantic as far as Cape Non. They are known by the name of the Piratical States of Barbary.

The system of piracy which has fixed upon them this name, may be traced back to the close of the fifteenth century. The Turkish power was then at its height, while its armies carried terror along the banks of the Danube, to the walls of Vienna; fleets of Brigantines issued from the ports in the Levant and the islands of the Archipelago,

Digitized by Google

chipelago, preying indiscriminately on the commerce of all Christian states. But Spain and Italy, suffered most from the desperate valour and enterprizing spirit which hurried along their barbarous crews. Often would they land, carrying away the fortunes of the inhabitants, and even whole families. Towns were scarcely secure from their attempts. These crews were not selected from any one nation; they did not display any authorized flag. Their commanders were not appointed by any potentate or government; the majority of them were indeed Turks, and they paid an irregular obedience to Constantinople. But they admitted natives of all countries, and a military tumultuary choice assigned the command to the most daring of the motley multitude. They ranged along every shore which circumscribes the Mediterranean, carrying off prizes in one place and selling them in another, exhibiting the grotesque and not uninteresting spectacle of undaunted courage, wild festivity, warlike magnificence, and careless profusion.

The convenience of the African coast tempted

Digitized by Google

tempted them to some establishments near the creeks and harbours; their numbers were increased by the Moors who were expelled from Spain. At length, in the early part of the sixteenth century, Horuc a native of Lesbos, who got the name of Barbarossa from his red beard, the most renowned pirate of the time, took regular possession of Algiers; and from him has rolled, down a stream of blood, a government of a most singular complexion.

This government is in the hands of between fourteen and eighteen thousand Turks scattered over the extent of the Algerine territories. These Turks as they call themselves, are composed of robbers, murderers, malefactors of every description, the refuse of the Levant; to whom agents established in different parts of the Turkish empire, add occasionally children whom they kidnap. The recruits are brought to them by ships whom they send to the different ports for the purpose. The supply is never more than five hundred a year; sometimes three or four years elapse without a single recruit.

The

Digitized by Google

The sovereigns of Algiers, have this feature in common with the Mamalucks, who govern Egypt. The means which nature has provided for the continuation of the human species, produce no effect among them. The name of an Algerine Turk, is in execration all over Turkey; no Turkish woman will so much as hold conversation with one, much less be tempted to his embraces; instances have occurred of Turkish women driven by storms into the ports of Algiers, whom all the intreaties of the Dey could not persuade to accept of a palace he offered them during their temporary stay. The Algerine Turk will seldom stoop to a Moorish woman; and as the offspring of their union would not be deemed Turks, nor entitled to their privileges, the appetites of nature are satisfied with unnatural indulgencies, and the generation that disappears, is succeeded by one which comes from abroad.

This Turkish soldiery have at their head a Dey whom they elect among themselves, and invest with the cafetan, the ensign of command. Almost always this robe is died with

Digitized by Google

with the blood of his predecessor. As long as he can keep it about his shoulders, his power has no assignable limits; he decides on peace and war, levies taxes, disposes of employments, and directs all affairs both foreign and domestic, without control or responsibility. But the real limits are in the violence and insurrection which break out on the least discontent. There is scarcely an instance of a Dey's closing his life, under the hand of nature. Yet, precarious as his power is, he generally exercises it without moderation or mercy; he is nowise sparing of irritation and offence, though the dagger awaits him, at the end of a short career.

The naval force of Algiers, constitutes the whole of its strength; it has no army, but the few Turks who disdain all subordination or discipline, and a Moorish cavalry assembled and composed in this manner:— On report of a threatened invasion, the Dey sends round his commands; the country people mount their horses, and armed with whatever weapons they can procure, pour down to the sea shore. Its naval force has varied

Digitized by Google

varied at different times; seldom have its ships ventured much beyond the Mediterranean; yet in the middle of the seventeenth century, when its ports sent out sixty-five of a large size, they extended their cruizes far into the ocean, and even approached the British shores. Their number fell to nineteen or twenty; and since the early part of the last century, to fourteen of different descriptions; which is the present number. The territory produces no timber; a little is procured from Mogadore in the empire of Morocco, but the greater part of the vessels are presents from European states, whom they intimidate by menaces of war. They extort powder and ammunition by the same means. Tunis and Tripoli, are governments built on the same foundation as Algiers, and composed of the same elements, differing only in being on a smaller scale. All three are wholly foreign; the native population is crushed beneath an iron yoke; the government of Morocco alone, is of African growth. The Emperors are descended from a religious impostor who, about the year 1500, under the name of Cherif,

Digitized by Google

Cherif, which has been transmitted to the Princes deriving from him, rendered himself successively master of the provinces which compose this empire. The Moors soon imitated the example of piracy set to them by their neighbours. The town of Sallee possessed a precarious and qualified independence. It regarded itself as a commonwealth under the protection of the Moorish emperors; it was governed by its own municipal laws and regulations. From this spark of liberty, was kindled a very active spirit of naval enterprize. The Sallee rovers were renowned for the boldness and extent of their depredations. But, some time before the arrival of Ripperda, the entrance into the harbour was nearly choked up with sand. He had cherished the hope not only of driving the Spaniards from the shores of Africa, but, at the head of the united and disciplined Barbarians, of invading Spain. He discovered the impossibility of conducting them to a scheme requiring so much combination in the planning, and constancy and perseverance in the execution.

Notwithstanding the Algerines sent a fleet to

Digitized by Google

to sea, and brought some troops into the field to oppose the attempt of the Spaniards upon Oran, the town fell into their hands. This conquest was achieved by the Count de Montemar. The Moors were overcome in a general engagement before Couta, and the military operations of Ripperda were not more fortunate, than had been his performances in the capacity of financier. He had resumed this his old employment.

Muley Abdallah had appointed him Effendi, or prime minister; and he had the management of the revenues of the Moorish empire.

These revenues arise from a tenth of every article of consumption, according to the regulation of the Koran; an annual tax upon the Jews; custom-house and excise duties; tributes exacted from subjects, foreign states, and European merchants, in the form of presents. The whole, if regularly collected, would amount to five hundred quintals of silver, each worth three hundred and eighty-five pounds sterling.

But the collection is never regular. Though the Emperor claims dominion over

Digitized by Google

an extent of territory as low down as Cape Non, yet his sovereignty in much of this extent is merely nominal. The chains of mount Atlas, are occupied by a race of mountaineers whose depredations he is often unable to repress, and from whom he must be content with a slender and occasional tribute.

The saints divert into their own coffers the revenues around them, allowing the people to pay taxes to none but themselves.

Where civil war, more or less confined, is perpetually raging; where property is not protected either against violence or power; where so much of the country lies uncultivated, and new regions of barrenness are often added to what was before; no stated revenue can be depended upon: it is liable to sudden diminutions which baffle calculation.

This, Ripperda found; and he was much perplexed to defray the expences of the warfare he had advised. In this emergency, he bethought himself of debasing the coin: and this device was received at first

not

Digitized by Google

not only without murmurs, but with applause, by an ignorant people. They saw, with pleasure, twice the expence covered by the same quantity of treasure. The foreign merchants quickly opened their eyes. As the coin had lost one half of its value, two pieces were demanded for what had before only cost one.

Ripperda did not neglect this opportunity of improving his own fortune. He employed the Jews, who are the common brokers and negociators in all money-transactions, to exchange the base coin for good money; which he locked up in his own chest.

The condition of the Jews in Barbary merits some notice. Multitudes are established in all parts. They are for the most part descended from those who were banished from Spain. There is no species of oppression or insult which they do not endure. Punishments are often inflicted upon them, at which human nature shudders: yet in them is exemplified the propensity of man, in whatever circumstances he is placed, to multiply his possessions. Some of them grow immensely rich. There are Jew

Digitized by Google

merchants at Algiers who possess the wealth of princes. The commerce of the country is almost entirely in their hands. They are busy in every branch of the administration of the revenue. Their riches are not to them productive of any enjoyment; they live in constant anxiety and dread. Some of their relations who escape to Europe, are enabled by bills of exchange to taste those pleasures from which themselves are for ever excluded. The conduct of Ripperda, both as an unsuccessful general and a fraudulent minister of finance, excited the bitter discontent of the people. His character of a renegado more particularly fixed upon him the detestation of the Moors. Those who distinguished themselves among his enemies, set on foot a report (which they industriously propagated, hoping it would reach the Emperor, and insinuate itself into his belief), that his disgrace at the court of Spain, and the seeming animosity against him, were for the purpose of facilitating his admission into the Moorish dominions; that he had a secret understanding with the Spaniards,

and

Digitized by Google

and had contributed to put them in possession of Oran; that he was labouring to render them masters of some kingdom in Africa, which was to devolve to an infant of Spain. "Is it conceivable, (they insisted,) that a man possessing lands and honours in Holland, after having filled eminent employments in Europe, should come to this remote part of the world, merely as an adventurer to seek his fortune?" The Jews joined in the clamour against him, and published some of the secrets in which he had employed them, resenting a tax of four dubloons a day, which had been imposed upon them for his support. The Emperor was not a stranger to the charges against him, and the state of the popular feelings: but, besides that the Emperors of Morocco do not pay much regard to the wishes or feelings of their subjects, Ripperda had a powerful protector at the court of Muley Abdallah. The Emperor's mother* was a princess

* The Spanish author says she was an English woman. Europpean women have often been in the harem of the Emperors of Morocco. It is certain that Muley

princess of a very warm constitution. Though covered with the frost of years, her amorous appetites were as importunate as ever. Her wants had been supplied by a Spanish renegado, whom she had kept for that purpose; but at the sight of our veteran adventurer, she was seized with an unaccountable passion for him. The overtures of a Queen of Morocco are not liable to misconstruction, and admit of no hesitation in the person to whom they are made. He served her as well as he could, and she in return employed her influence over her son to protect him from his subjects.

He was created a Bashaw, and became a principal favourite at the court of Mequinez. But the heads he saw falling on every side

Muley Ishmael had an English concubine: but so remarkable a circumstance as an English woman's having given birth to Abdallah, must have been taken notice of either by Commodore Stewart, who visited Morocco during the life of Ishmael; or Captain Braithwaite, who was there a little after his death; and neither mentions it. Abdallah had an English woman; and the present Emperor of Morocco is descended from her.

of

Digitized by Google

of him, too strongly reminded him his turn might be next. His ambition was not strong-nerved enough for such a daily spectacle. It had in a great measure evaporated, and with it had fled his repose; when the old Queen his protectress was snatched from him by a violent death.

A mortal hatred and rivalship subsisted between her and the favourite wife of her son. Both were desirous of exercising undivided and unlimited influence. The wife at last, tired of a competition which thwarted her designs, put an end to it by a decisive blow. A female attendant of the old Queen was bribed to infuse a good portion of poison into a dish of coffee; which she had no sooner taken than she fell into convulsions, and three days after was no more.

Ripperda had now every reason to expect a prompt deliverance from his earthly troubles; when one of those revolutions, of which Morocco is frequently the theatre, gave him an opportunity of escaping from his greatness, and conveyed him to a situation of some security.

Muley

Digitized by Google

Muley Abdallah beheld with terror the multitudes of negroes whom his father had introduced into the empire, and distributed round his palace. Their insolent clamours were perpetually raised to extort from him fresh sums of money. The instruments of his cruelties, they were ready to serve his inhumanity, but disdained to submit their licentiousness to his controul.—Desirous of reducing their numbers, and subduing their power, he invited the people in the mountains to fall upon them. They drove him from his capital, and he was compelled to hide himself among the mountains and forests of Tafilet. Muley Ali was proclaimed Emperor, and for a time exercised the imperial prerogatives of desolation and blood. Ripperda did not think of accompanying the fallen monarch, but fled to Tetuan.

The Bashaw of Tetuan extends his authority over a tract of territory not exceeded in extent by many kingdoms in Europe.—In the bloody struggles between rival Emperors, the Bashaws are accustomed to wait the event of the contest, espousing neither side, but maintaining themselves in a state of

Digitized by Google

of independence. This was the conduct pursued by the Bashaw of Tetuan: and that quiet which Ripperda was not qualified to enjoy, was offered to him under his protection.

Tetuan stands nearly opposite to Gibraltar, at the opening of the Straights. Its situation is a rising ground between two high mountains. It is five miles from the sea, with which it communicates by a river. The prospect is delightful;—the distant sea; the river winding through the valley; the busy appearance of navigation; the contrast of the lofty mountains, skirting the gay scenery with their rugged and barren sides. The town itself is poor and filthy; the streets narrow, and almost covered by the projection of the houses: but the valley below, dressed in all the charms of natural fertility and high cultivation, presents a most inviting appearance.

Here the richer inhabitants have their villas. Some of them are extremely elegant, built after the European fashion, and in the newest taste of architecture. They are

Digitized by Google

embowered among orange groves, and refreshed by cascades and water-works. Ripperda chose one of these as the place of his retirement. He was accompanied by Dona Josepha: and as he was plentifully supplied with money, he wanted none of those conveniencies or luxuries, which however seldom relieve in any great degree the insipidity of an unoccupied life.

The produce of the four quarters of the globe is poured into Tetuan. It receives from Fez not only the growth and manufacture of the Moorish dominions, but what merchants and caravans bring from Tunis, Algiers, the Levant, Alexandria, and Guinea. It sends provisions and fruit to Gibraltar and Spain, and all the variety of Europe is obtained in exchange.

The French cook who had attended Ripperda from Holland, gave seasoning and elegance to the plenty of this extensive market.

He might have provided himself with a harem: but the wanton Spaniard was more than sufficient for him, considering his age and infirmities.

The

Digitized by Google

The pleasure of mixed society and conversation was not to be found at Tetuan. A number of Jew merchants reside there. There are likewise consuls from the nations of Europe. They however but indifferently filled up the void. He tried to amuse himself by speculations and improvements in husbandry. He procured a grant of a considerable tract of waste land, and had a variety of implements of agriculture sent to him from Europe. His intention was to instruct the barbarous inhabitants in the modes of European tillage: but he spent his money; none or few were instructed, and himself little amused.

In these circumstances, a visit from Ali Den gave him the most sensible pleasure.

Ali had not deserted Muley Abdallah in his misfortunes. He submitted with cheerfulness to the hardships of a wandering life in Taffilet. This he did not from respect or affection; for Abdallah was not a man to inspire either; but in obedience to an honest impulse which bade him adhere to his benefactor. He came to Tetuan upon a mission to observe the dispositions

Digitized by Google

of the people towards the dethroned Emperor. Ripperda, and the Bashaw who had recently acknowledged the usurper, pressed him to follow their example, and abandon an execrable tyrant.—"No!" exclaimed the generous renegado: "he is a tyrant, "if you will; but he befriended and pro- "tected me. Let an occasion present it- "self; I will cut him out a passage to the "throne, or perish in the attempt!"—The feelings of honourable attachment still warmed his breast. These he had not flung away, like most libertines of his description, along with the virtues of private life.

As no immediate prospect opened itself of serving his master, he remained at Tetuan, and had many nightly meetings with Ripperda, in which these mussulmen enlivened conversation with a bottle of good wine.

This last was roused from the torpor of inaction by the adventures of an old friend and companion.

As early as the year 1729, disturbances had broken out in Corsica. The inhabitants, resenting the exactions and oppressions of the Genoese government, had re-

course

course to arms. But still the insurrection was without a determinate form; when, in March 1736, a vessel from Tunis, carrying English colours, arrived at Aleria, one of the ports of the island. A stranger richly habited, landed from this vessel. He was thus described:—

His coat, made after the fashion of the Levant, was scarlet lined with fur. He wore a handsome wig covered by a broad-brimmed hat, turned up on one side in a cavalier manner. A long Spanish sword hung at his side; and in his hand he twirled about a taper hooked cane. He had a large attendance of persons, whom he distinguished by the names of maître-d'hôtel, secretary, chaplain. They appeared the household of a person of distinction.

As he did not immediately disclose his name, opinions were divided, who he was:—The Pretender, according to some; Count Bonneval from Turkey, according to others. A third party affirmed it was Ripperda himself. But it was soon discovered that this extraordinary stranger was a Prussian gentleman, Theodore Anthony Baron de Newoff.

His

Digitized by Google

His life had been curiously chequered with incidents. In his youth he had been in the French service. From this he had repaired to Baron Gortz in Sweden. By him he was sent to Spain. He was known to Cardinal Alberoni, and contracted an acquaintance with Ripperda. This latter procured him a young lady in marriage, of a good family and some fortune. Newoff, not much pleased with her person, decamped one day without warning, accompanied by the greater part of her moveables. Paris was at this time the resort of all those enterprising spirits who do not think of gaining fortune by slow mechanical industry, but by rapid invention and brisk intrepidity. Law was in the midst of his brilliant experiments in finance. He received Newoff as a brother of his soul, and initiated him in the mysteries of his profession. Paris was for some time an agreeable residence. Newoff enjoyed all the pleasures of fashionable life; when some troublesome creditors occasioned his abrupt departure for England. It soon became inconvenient to continue in England; and

he

Digitized by Google

he shifted the scene of his amusements to Amsterdam. His excursions extended to Italy and the Levant; when, hearing of the troubles of Corsica, he conceived the idea of becoming king of the island. He went to Tunis, and communicated his project to the Dey, who afforded him the means of carrying it into effect.

He was elected King of Corsica a month after his arrival. He assumed the state of a sovereign prince. Three hundred men, with drawn swords, composed his guard. Two pieces of artillery were planted at his door. He proceeded to name his officers of state. He had his generalissimos, and governors of towns and provinces, his treasurer, and keeper of the seals. He was arbitrary and despotic in his government; —several persons were hung and shot by his orders.

Ripperda felt great zeal to support this new-sprung monarchy. He sent money to Theodore. He undertook several journeys to Mequinez. But Theodore, not satisfied with the amount of his remittances, and doubting of his ability to render him any

essential

Digitized by Google

essential service, turned himself to another quarter. He found a rich Jew at Tunis, one Mordecai Senaga, who consented to make him large advances on the adventurous speculation of commercial benefits to be conferred on him and the Jewish people, when Theodore was in confirmed possession of Corsica. The Jews were to be put in possession of the port of Aleria, forming a commonwealth of their own, without any other mark of subjection than the payment of five per cent. on all imported merchandize.

Ripperda, neglected even by Theodore, fell into complete lowness of spirits. The death of Dona Josepha gave a shock to his mind he was little able to bear in his state of melancholy and depression. She had been attacked with a dropsical complaint, and, in hopes of relief from medical skill in Europe, had embarked for Amsterdam; where she died soon after her arrival.

Ripperda's brain became affected with religious extravagancies. He fancied himself inspired to promulgate a new religion. The Jewish, the Christian, the Mahometan, were

Digitized by Google

were but types and forerunners of a more perfect revelation confided to him. Elias, David, St. John the Baptist, all the prophets, had foretold his coming*. As no doctrine is so absurd as not to gain proselytes, he was heard with favour and conviction by multitudes. The Mahometan bigots took the alarm, and charged him with blasphemy and impiety. His friend Ali, and a few of his way of thinking, smiled.

He died at Tetuan, towards the end of the year 1737. Of the children of his first marriage, the son married a daughter of Count Cobentzel, and established himself in Holland; the daughter married, in Spain, a man of a good family. One of his sons by his Spanish wife, had a small government in Spanish America.

* L'Abbé Prevot, le pour et le contre.

THE END.

J. Brettell, Printer, Marshall-street, Golden-square.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google